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BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AND MUSEUM

# IN SEARCH OF CELTIC TYLIS IN THRACE (III C BC)

## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY COLLOQUIUM ARRANGED
BY THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AND MUSEUM AT SOFIA
AND THE WELSH DEPARTMENT, ABERYSTWYTH UNIVERSITY
HELD AT THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AND MUSEUM
SOFIA, 8 MAY 2010

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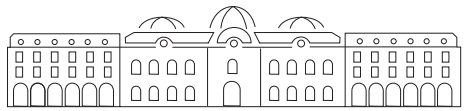
On the cover: detail of gold Celtic torque, found by accident on the Danube bank near the village of Tsibar (later Tsibar varosh or Gorni Tsibar), district of Lom, NW Bulgaria; 3rd quarter of 4th C BC; National Archaeological Museum at Sofia, inv. #3242/1903.

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Lyudmil F. Vagalinski

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# PREFACE

The idea for this colloquium was born during an international scholarly conference in November 2009 at Sofia University. Six months later, the colloquium took place, and its proceedings were published within another six. These short time periods reflect the emerging necessity for a wide scholarly debate about the Celtic presence in ancient Thrace. I hope that the present volume is a step forward in this direction.

This Bulgarian-British Colloquium would not have been possible without the organizational help provided by Dr. Alexander Falileyev. The good English of the papers in the volume we owe to another colleague from the Welsh Department, Aberystwyth University – Dr. Simon Rodway.

Associate Prof. Dr. Lyudmil F. Vagalinski
(vice-director of the National Archaeological Institute and Museum-Sofia)

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# Celtic – Definitions, Problems and Controversies

Simon Rodway

In this paper, I shall work my way backwards through my title, beginning with recent controversies about Celticity, outlining some significant problems, and finally attempting some acceptable definitions of the term "Celtic". The traditional consensus holds that the Celts spread from a homeland somewhere in central Europe during the first millennium BC, until, at the height of their success in the third century BC, they occupied a vast territory stretching from central Turkey to the Atlantic coast of Ireland. In Brittany, Ireland and the least Romanized parts of Britain, Celtic culture(s) continued to flourish into the Middle Ages and beyond. Classical historians provide us with accounts of the southward and eastward expansion of the Celts into Italy, Greece, the Balkans and Turkey, but their migration into the Iberian peninsula, Britain and Ireland can only be surmised on the basis of other types of evidence. Presence of Celts has been deduced in areas in which one of the so-called "Celtic" languages is or was spoken. Since the nineteenth century, it has been believed that ancient Celts are also archaeologically recognizable, mainly on account of artistic style[1]. These different types of evidence have been synthesized to provide a picture which was described by Simon James as "a complacent orthodoxy ripe for re-evaluation" (James 1998, 206) and a "stale consensus that has prevailed for too long" (James 1999, 144). Indeed the traditional "Story of the Celts" has in recent decades been the focus of a debate which has "generated more heat than light", according to some (Harding / Gillies 2005, 1; Champion 2006, 125)[2].

The very validity of the concept of "the Celts" has been questioned. Much has been made of the "constructed" nature of Celticity (Waddell 1995, 166; Leerssen 1996, 4, Renfrew 1996, 132), which was ingeniously explained by the anthropologist Malcolm Chapman as a series of core/periphery oppositions in which a self-appointed "centre" (Greece, Rome, London etc.) constantly "creates" a "Celtic Fringe" inhabited by a motley collection of "barbaric" "Others" (Galatians, Gauls, *wealas,* "wild Irish" etc.) with no internal cohesion (Chapman 1992, 209-12 and *passim*)[3]. According to Chapman, this periphery has always been diverse, culturally, ethnically and linguistically – it only looks homogeneous from a centre uninterested in differentiating between types of "barbarian". Claims by the modern Welsh, Irish, Bretons, Scots etc. that these "constructed" Celts were their ancestors would thus be no more valid than the medieval origin legends which derived

[1] For La Tène or "Celtic" art as an ethnic or cultural marker, see e.g. Jacobsthal 1944, I, 163; Dillon / Chadwick 1967, 288; Jope 1987; Jope 1995, 376; Megaw / Megaw 1989; Megaw / Megaw 1995, 346, 355-56, 370; Megaw / Megaw 1996, 176; Megaw / Megaw 1997, 115-16; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 48-52. But note the criticism of Waddell 1995, 166-67; Sims-Williams 1998b, 4, 32-33; Collis 2003, 80-84, 90.

[2] But cf. Collis 2010, 41 who claims that "it is the traditionalists who have generated the heat, and such light as there has been has come from the new approaches." He is no doubt referring to comments such as those by Vincent and Ruth Megaw comparing the arguments of "Celtosceptic" archaeologists to Stalinism and ethnic cleansing (Megaw / Megaw 1996, 179, 180; cf. the reaction of James 1998, 201; James 1999, 16), but he is quite capable of generating heat himself, claiming, for instance, to "feel like an Evolutionist arguing with Creationists" (Collis 2010, 40)!

[3] Cf. McDonald 1986, 335; McDonald 1989, 99; Merriman 1987, 114; note also the cautious comments of Cunliffe 1997, 6 and the justified criticism of Evans 1997, 15-16.

the Welsh and Bretons from Troy and the Irish and Scots from Scythia. Chapman's view is that, in the modern period, a number of disparate "marginal" peoples have seized upon an external label and created their own "imagined community" (Anderson 1991) in opposition to English or French hegemony. Versions of this deconstructionist approach to Celticity have gained a certain currency. Simon James speaks of "post-Celticist" archaeologists (James 1998, 204; James 1999, 141), while John Collis prefers "New Celticists" (Collis 2010) – another word, introduced to the world of academia by Patrick Sims-Williams, is "Celtosceptic" (Sims-Williams 1998b)[4].

Some critics of this approach have perceived a political agenda lurking in the background, particularly in the work of English archaeologists such as John Collis and Simon James who have been accused of Euroscepticism and anti-devolutionism, as well as a "politically correct" over-reaction to perceived racism in traditional "culture-history" archaeological paradigms (Megaw / Megaw 1992, 259; Megaw / Megaw 1996, 179; Megaw / Megaw 1997, 118-19; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 40-47). These allegations have been firmly rebutted (James 1998; James 1999, 16, 141-42; Collis 2003, 225-31), but undoubtedly modern politics do intrude into the world of academia[5]. The emphasis in two major European exhibitions of prehistoric archaeology in the early 1990s was on *Celtica* as a precursor to a peaceful unified Europe, at a time when the political map was changing rapidly in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War (see e.g. Moscati 1991, 14)[6]. This provoked disquiet in some circles about the misuse of archaeological data for political ends (Collis, 1996a 26-28; Collis 1996b, 176; Harding / Gillies 2005, 1). Rather differently, some countries and regions in western Europe which are home to separatist movements of varying strength claim a Celtic identity (largely on linguistic grounds). Celticity has played a significant part in nationalist movements in Ireland and Brittany[7], and while it has been less prevalent in politics in Wales and Scotland (Leerssen 1996, 12; Morse 2005, 149-50), commissioning a book on the "myth" of the Atlantic Celts from "post-Celticist" Simon James expressly to coincide with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly (James 1999, 10-11) was certainly provocative on the part of the publisher (perhaps significantly, the *British* Museum Press!). Some Celticists have detected, no doubt correctly, a subconscious resistance on the part of some English scholars to the concept of the equal validity of the "Celtic" peoples in any field[8]. However, discontent with the "Celtic" label is not confined to England (see James 1998, 202; Collis 2010, 36; *pace* Harding / Gillies 2005, 1, 13). Some Spanish scholars have questioned its relevance to their work. Gonzalo Ruiz Zapatero reports that: "there are traditionally Celtic regions in Spain today where archaeologists carefully avoid even using the word 'Celt'" (Ruiz Zapatero 2006, 199; cf. Díaz Andreu 1996, 57; Ruiz Zapatero 1996; Lorrio /

[4] Sims-Williams attributes it to Robin Llywelyn (1998, 5), but note that Simon James apparently uses the term "Celt-sceptic" independently (James 1998, 201). It has been described as an "unfortunate and misleading title" by John Collis (2010, 33), but it has gained greater currency than the alternative labels, so I use it here.

[5] Early modern examples of politically motivated "Celtoscepticism" include the insistence on the part of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland until the 1840s that all non-Roman finds in Scotland were "Danish" rather than "Celtic" (Harvie 1996, 241) and eighteenth-century Czech antiquarians arguing that the Boii (and thus the Celts in general) were in fact Slavic (Champion 1996, 68, citing Sklenař 1983, 93, a work which I have been unable to consult).

[6] See Megaw / Megaw 1992, 258-59; Megaw / Megaw 1996, 176; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 21-22, 44; Dietler 1994, 596; Champion 1996, 76; Collis 1996a, 26; Collis 2003, 10, 204; Diaz Andreu 1996, 56-57; Shore 1996, 113, #11; Cunliffe 1997, 18-19; Cunliffe 2003, 2-3; James 1998, 207; James 1999, 19; Harding / Gillies 2005, 12-13; McCone 2008, 45-46.

[7] See McDonald 1986; McDonald 1989, 97-121; Chapman 1992, 217-19; Dietler 1994, 593-96; Cunliffe 1997, 16; James 1999, 25, 130-31; Collis 2003, 198; Morse 2005, 109-10, 149-50, 171-72.

[8] E.g. Jackson 1976, xxiii; Sims-Williams 1998b, 5; Sims-Williams 1999, 30; Evans 1999, 8; Wmffre 2006, 311.

Ruiz Zapatero 2005, 33-34). Welsh novelist Robin Llywelyn coined the term "Celtosceptic" with reference not to English archaeologists but to those of his fellow countrymen, such as R.T. Jenkins, who felt no kinship with Bretons or Irishmen (Llywelyn 1998, 5, quoting Jenkins 1997, 37; see Sims-Williams 1998b, 5-6). One could also cite a trend among Irish literary historians to downplay the Celtic context of early Irish literature in favour of Biblical and Classical influences (e.g. Carney 1955; McCone 1990). This has resulted in a number of recent publications by scholars who ignore (or are ignorant of) Gaulish and Welsh parallels to facets of the medieval Irish literary tradition (e.g. McLaughlin 2008), in marked contrast to earlier generations who made much of them (e.g. Williams 1971; cf. Sims-Williams 1998b, 34).

Regardless of the political motivations of these more or less "Celtosceptic" scholars, their unease with the traditional concept of Celticity seems in large part to be a reaction to generalizations about "Celtic culture", "Celtic society", "Celtic spirit" and so forth in the orthodox "Story of the Celts", evident in descriptions such as this one by Myles Dillon:

> The picture that we get is of a people brave and gay, physically powerful, and amazingly successful in the early period. From Galatia in Asia Minor northwest to Scotland, and south again to Andalusia, one could travel in the third century BC without leaving Celtic territory. And although there was no empire, it was one culture [...] Such were the ancestors of the peoples who emerge into history in the first centuries of the Christian era as Britanni and Hiberni, the Britons and the Irish (Dillon / Chadwick 1967, 17).

Such a picture is forcibly rejected by John Collis:

> There was no cross-European Celtic people. There was no broad-based Celtic art, society, or religion. And there were never any Celts in Britain (Collis 1994)[9].

In between these two extremes are many points. In the words of Patrick Sims-Williams, "in part we are witnessing a debate about emphasis and about the validity of generalizing at all" (Sims-Williams 1998b, 3).

It is certain that a strain of primitivism is implicit in many descriptions of the Celts – in other words an assumption that the Celts were inherently "primitive" and only changed under the influence of more dynamic cultures, such as that of the Romans[10]. This derives from the influence of nineteenth-century Romanticism. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Edward Lhwyd

[9] Elsewhere he maintains that generalizations about "Celtic society" (e.g. Powell 1958, 74-85; cf. Meid 2008, 183-86) derive from a "mishmash of information from different times and different places which is often of little value for understanding the societies being described" (Collis 1995, 76; see also Collis 1996a, 25; Collis 2003, 213-14; Collis 2006, 108; Ó Corráin 1986, 234; T. Champion 1995, 85; James 1999, 18). Cf. the deconstruction of the concept of "Celtic spirit" by Merriman 1987.

[10] Hence the anachronisms in the following colourful account of the Celts who attacked Greece in the third century BC, which, incredibly, draws on sources ranging as far afield in time and place as the Highlands of Scotland in the later Middle Ages (see Campbell 2009, 49-50): "At their head marched the half-wild Galatae from the North Sea, men mighty of limb, their strong rough-hewn faces, so strange to Greek eyes, surmounted by huge shocks of red hair, their throats circled by gold torcs, men who in action flung away target and plaid and charged half naked with their claymores, as their kinfolk in Britain were to do later at the Battle of the Standard and on many another field" (Tarn 1913, 143). Compare the "Gallic chief" painted by Jules Didier in 1895 with his Bronze Age armour and modern kilt and sporran (Dietler 1994, 598)!

proved the affinity of the languages which we subsequently call Celtic[11]. Polite society in Paris, London and Edinburgh discovered that they, like the Greeks and Romans whom they so much admired, had a "Celtic Fringe". Like Posidonios and Tacitus before them (see Cunliffe 1997, 8-9, 92), they inverted negative conceptions about "barbarians", creating a beguiling image of Celtic "noble savages", living unsophisticated lives of childlike simplicity in a sublime landscape of mountains and forests. Thus began a period of "Celtomania", which, perhaps, never truly went away (Merriman 1987, 114; Evans 1997, 17-18; Collis 2006, 104; Ruiz Zapatero 2006, 199). As Malcolm Chapman has shown, the early modern Romantics retained the duality implicit in earlier overwhelmingly negative accounts of the Celtic "Other", but reversed the moral judgement, substituting positive adjectives such as "natural" for "animal", "creative" for "lawless" and so on (Chapman 1992, 129, 210-17; cf. Chapman 1978, 17; Sims-Williams 1986, 74, 76). Thomas Gray's image of the last of the Welsh bards in craggy Snowdonia (a place which Gray had never visited!) in his 1757 poem *The Bard* and James Macpherson's forged Gaelic epics of the 1760s reinforced the Romantic preconceptions of their (largely non-Celtic) audience about the sentimental, unworldly and marginal Celt. Ernest Renan, in his celebrated essay *La Poésie des races celtiques* of 1854, constructed an enduringly primitivist image of the unchanging Celt, "constant in resistance [...] to modern civilisation":

> Never has a human family lived more apart from the world, and been purer from all alien admixture [...] Roman civilisation scarcely reached them, and left among them but few traces. The Teutonic invasion drove them back, but did not penetrate them (Renan, trans. Hutchison 1896, 4-5)[12].

Over a hundred years later, Nora Chadwick described the medieval Irish in strikingly similar terms: "Beyond Roman Gaul, however, the ancient Celtic culture of the Iron Age remained in cold storage, virtually untouched by Roman influence" (Dillon / Chadwick 1967, 142).

The Romantic Celt is a melancholy dreamer with an affinity for the natural world (see Sims-Williams 1986; Sims-Williams 1996). He is marginal, insubstantial, forever on the point of extinction. In the words of the bewitching Flora Mac-Ivor in Walter Scott's 1814 novel *Waverley*:

> the seat of the Celtic Muse is in the mist of the secret and solitary hill, and her voice in the murmur of the mountain stream. He who woos her must love the barren rock more than the fertile valley, and the solitude of the desert more than the festivity of the hall (*Waverley* I, chapter 22).

This characterization has proved enduring – Renan directly inspired Yeats's "Celtic Twilight" at the end of the nineteenth century and his influence can easily be recognized today in popular culture (in modern "Celtic Christianity" (see Meek 1996; Meek 2000) and in the "neo-druidism" of the New Age, for instance (see Chapman 1992, 219-23; Bowman, 1996; Bowman 2000; Dietler 2006, 240-42)). Kenneth Jackson complained that "a Welshman can hardly publish a book of the

[11] His surname is spelled *Lhuyd* on the frontispiece of his *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707), but elsewhere he used *Lhwyd* which I adopt throughout (see Roberts 1996).

[12] "Jamais famille humaine n'a vécu plus isolée du monde et plus pure de toute mélange étranger [...] La civilisation de Rome les atteignit à peine et ne laissa parmi eux que peu de traces. L'invasion germanique les refoula, mais ne les pénétra point. A l'heure qu'il est ils resistent encore à une invasion bien autrement dangereuse, celle de la civilisation moderne" (Psichari 1948, 255). This is reminiscent of Jules Michelet's characterization of the Celts in 1833 as "stone-like" and isolated, "immutable as their rough druidic monuments which they still revere" (quoted and translated in Rigney 1996, 175-76; cf. Chapman 1992, 94-119; Rigney 1996, 159-60; Watson 1996). For "primitivism" in Classical accounts of the Celts, see for instance Maier 1996, 84; Maier 2000, 3.

most realistic and cynical short stories without some reviewer tracing in them the evidences of 'Celtic mysticism' or the like" (Jackson 1971, 20; cf. Sims-Williams 1996, 110). The Romantic Celt was essentially by and for non-Celts, but he has to a certain extent been internalized in the Celtic countries[13]. He also intrudes into academia in the form of unprovable generalizations about the character and motives of Iron Age craftsmen and medieval storytellers (e.g. Bromwich 1971, 42-43; Megaw / Megaw 1989, 22-23; Jope 1995, 376; Trevor-Roper 2008, xix-xx)[14]. The "Celtosceptics" are rightly alert to and critical of this tendency, but are prone to exaggerate its prevalence at a scholarly level[15].

Naturally, we must exercise caution when combining historical and linguistic evidence to build a synthetic picture of the ancient Celts, and even more caution is required when applying archaeological and art historical data to the problem. After all these are very different types of evidence – it is not acceptable to assume that anyone labelled a Celt by a Greek historian would necessarily have spoken a Celtic language or worn Celtic jewellery. In fact the discipline of Celtic studies does have a history of critical analysis of its own parameters which pre-dates "Celtoscepticism" (cf. Evans 1997, 3, 23-25; Cunliffe 1997, i). R.G. Latham expressed many of the same doubts as Malcolm Chapman about the term "Keltic" in 1857 (Latham 1857, 370). The term "Celticism", defined by Joep Leerssen as "the study of their [the Celts'] reputation and of the meanings and connotations ascribed to the term 'Celtic'" (Leerssen 1996, 3), is a calque on Edward Said's "Orientalism", recognizing that the modern Celts are indeed in many ways an external construct (McCormack 1994, 225-26; Leerssen 1996, 6-7 and *passim*; Sims-Williams 1996, 98; Watson 1996, 207)[16]. Many aspects of Celticism have been subjected to a much more nuanced analysis than the often polemical denunciations of Chapman, James et al. (e.g. Sims-Williams 1986; Brown 1996 etc.), and this can be traced back as far as the late nineteenth century (e.g. Mackinnon Robertson 1897).

The recent Celticity debate has certainly thrown up a number of uncomfortable problems with the traditional picture of the ancient Celts and we are obliged to give them serious consideration. In the remainder of this paper I shall briefly examine a few of these. For a start, who exactly were the *Keltoi* referred to by ancient Greek authors from the fifth or sixth centuries BC onwards (rendered *Celtae* in Latin), and how did they relate to the *Galatai* and *Galli*? These terms seem to be used more or less synonymously, although usage varies somewhat from author to author[17].

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[13] This can be seen from the following quote from the Gaelic poet Sorley MacLean: "the Celt's verbal virtuosity, his music and his love of Nature set him apart" (MacGilleathain 1999, xiv; trans. Black et al. 1999b, xxi). Another recent example is the Welsh author Dewi Prysor's account of the "natural philosophy" of the ancient druids (Prysor 2010). See further Sims-Williams 1986, 76-78; Chapman 1992, 251, 261-62; Meek 1996, 155-56; McCone 2008, 45.

[14] Other examples of this tendency are quoted by Sims-Williams 1986, 74-76. A recent example (Siewers 2009) is discussed perceptively by Lewis 2010.

[15] Malcolm Chapman quotes the now notorious pronouncement by J.R.R. Tolkien, "'Celtic' of any sort is [...] a magic bag, into which anything may be put, and out of which almost anything may come" (Tolkien 1963, 29-30, quoted by Chapman 1992, xiii), but, as D. Ellis Evans has pointed out (Evans 1999, 11) he ignores the context of the original statement, which related to fanciful etymologies of Celtic words by non-Celticists. It is certainly not an adequate summary of the current state of Celtic studies, and many of us working in the discipline prefer W.J. McCormack's far more flattering assessment: "scholarship in the area of Celticism constitutes perhaps the most refined and intellectually demanding exercise of the academic mind" (McCormack 1994, 225)!

[16] Michael Dietler uses "Celticism" to denote a rather different type of constructed identity: "self-conscious attempts to construct ethnicized forms of collective memory and communal identity that are territorially bounded and embedded in overt political projects and ideologies" (Dietler 2006, 239).

[17] Powell 1958, 20-21; Chapman 1992, 33; Dietler 1994, 585-86; Cunliffe 1997, 2; Sims-Williams 1998b, 21; Collis 2003, 11, 66, 98-103; Collis 2006, 99-100; Harding / Gillies 2005, 4-5; McCone 2006, 94. *Keltoi* and *Galatai* can

Malcolm Chapman believes that they were externally applied derogatory terms meaning nothing more than "north-western barbarians" (Chapman 1992, 30-34)[18]. He supports this contention with reference to schematic and clearly over-simplified maps such as that of Ephorus in the fourth century BC in which the peripheries of the Greek world are populated by four symmetrically arranged barbarian peoples: Scythians in the north, Indians or Persians in the east, Ethiopians or Libyans in the south and Celts in the west (Chapman 1992, 35-36; cf. James 1999, 52). Other authors, however, are far more specific, distinguishing between, for instance, Celts and Ligurians (Hecataeus), Celts and Germans (Caesar) and Celts and Iberians (Strabo) in western Europe (Collis 1996a, 17-18; Collis 2003, 105; Collis 2006, 99; Sims-Williams 1998b, 24-25). That they did not do so consistently should not surprise us. Even in our enlightened age, many people in western Europe are unaware of the distinction between Persians and Arabs in the Middle East, for example[19].

Chapman speculates that the term *Keltoi* is a Greek word (Chapman 1992, 35), but he does not suggest a Greek etymology for it. On the other hand a number of plausible Celtic etymologies can be posited for *Keltoi*, *Galatai* and *Galli*. It is quite possible that they are all Celtic words[20]. Chapman dismisses the use of *Celtae* by some Gauls in the first century BC as a term of self-definition (as reported by Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico,* 1.1) as a late development (Chapman 1992, 48-49), but this is not the only evidence for "Celt" as a term of self-definition[21]. In the second century AD Pausanias reports that the Galatians who settled in Asia Minor were previously known as Celts both by themselves and by other people (*Description of Greece*, 1.4.1) and there are a number of ethnic and personal names containing the element *Celt-*, i.e. the Celtici and Celtiberi of Spain and Celtillus, the father of the Gaulish leader Vercingetorix, suggesting that there were plenty of Celts calling themselves Celts in the ancient period[22]. If the term really has a Celtic etymology, then the likelihood is that it always was an ethnic label applied by a self-aware ethnic group to themselves

hardly be "orthographic variants" as suggested by Malcolm Chapman (1992, 33), but it is possible that they, and indeed *Galli*, are etymologically related (Sims-Williams 1998b, 21-22; cf. Piggott 1967, 5). The whole question deserves more attention.

[18] Cf. Renfrew 1987, 224; Renfrew 1996, 132. Chapman's formulation is cited approvingly by Champion 1996, 63; cf. Megaw / Megaw 1996, 181; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 32.

[19] Chapman also cites the twelfth-century Byzantine usage of *Keltoi* as a disparaging term for western crusaders (Chapman 1992, 53-55 and 182), but this tells us no more about the original meaning of the word than modern vernacular uses of Hun for German or Vandal for yob who smashes up telephone boxes do about the historical Huns or Vandals (see Megaw / Megaw 1996, 177; Sims-Williams 1998b, 24, #94).

[20] Various Celtic etymologies for these words are discussed by Evans 1967, 332-33; Sims-Williams 1998b, 21-22; Koch 2003, 42; Koch 2009b, 73, 78; Isaac 2004a, Possibly Celtic Elements, s.v. *celto-*; McCone 2006; McCone 2008, 2-6, 38-39; Falileyev 2007, 90, #51; Falileyev et al. 2010b, 14-15, 19-20; De Bernardo Stempel 2008, 103; Matasović 2009, 199. Note that Kim McCone, while deriving *Galli* and *Galatai* from a Celtic root (**galā* "fury"), believes them to have been externally applied as ethnonyms (McCone 2006, 101-7; McCone 2008, 8). Contrast Greene 1964, 14: "indeed, we do not know what *Keltoi* and *Galatae* meant originally, but there is no evidence that they are Celtic words"; cf. Piggott 1967, 5, quoting Kenneth Jackson.

[21] It is simply incorrect to claim that "[t]here is no evidence to suggest that anyone in prehistoric or early historic times thought of him or herself as a Celt" (T. Champion 1995, 88). For similar, and equally unfounded, claims, see Greene 1964, 14; S. Champion 1995, 411; Renfrew 1996, 132. Cf. Leerssen 1996, 4: "no 'Celts' have ever gone on record as identifying themselves under this name" – this is "technically true but, in view of Gaulish names such as [...] *Celtillus*, only just" according to Kim McCone (2008, 7).

[22] See Evans 1967, 332-33; Evans 1999, 11-12; Cunliffe 1997, 142-43; McCone 2008, 2; Koch 2009b, 74; Falileyev et al. 2010b, 97.

rather than a racial slur deployed indiscriminately by the Greeks of linguistically and culturally disparate "wogs in the north" to use Chapman's deliberately provocative term (1992, 33)[23].

However, the Britons and Irish are never called Celts in the Classical sources, and some authors, such as Pytheas of Marseilles in the fourth century BC, specifically differentiate between Britain and *Celtica*[24]. When the first written records from Britain and Ireland appear in the early Middle Ages, the inhabitants do not refer to themselves as Celts and neither is the term used of them by others. The Irish are *Scotti*, *Goídil* etc. while the Britons are *Brittones*, *Cymry* and so forth. Neither does either side appear to show any recognition that they, or their languages, are related[25]. The breakthrough in proving the relationship between Irish, the Brittonic languages and the Celtic languages of the continent was achieved by George Buchanan in his history of Scotland which was published in 1582[26], but his work was suppressed for political reasons (Collis 2003, 40-43; Collis 2006, 102; Morse 2005, 16; Roper-Hall 2009, 63-64) and towards the end of the following century the comparative linguistic work was done all over again by Edward Lhwyd, whose *Archaeologia Britannica*, published in 1707, provided the definitive proof and introduced the convention of calling these languages "Celtic" (Roberts 1986)[27]. Thus it was not until the eighteenth century that the term "Celtic" was consistently applied to the peoples of Britain and Ireland, on the grounds that speakers of "Celtic" languages must have been Celts. For this reason Simon James, John Collis and others argue that referring to Britain and Ireland as "Celtic" in the ancient and medieval periods is unwarranted[28].

However, we all know that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence – we simply do not know what the ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland called themselves[29]. Besides, the absence of evidence is not as complete as received wisdom would have it. Strabo corrects Hipparchus's statement that the people to the north of *Celtica* are still Celts rather than Britons (Strabo 2.1.18).

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[23] Thus assuming that at least some Celtic-speakers thought of themselves as *Keltoi* is in a very different league to "assuming that the pre-Columban peoples of the American continents thought of themselves as 'Indians', or, indeed, 'Americans'" (*pace* Chapman, 1992, 34; Merriman 1987, 113-14; James 1998, 204; cf. De Bernardo Stempel 2006, 37). Koch 2009b, 76 makes a similar point about *Britanni*. To what extent historically attested Celts would have found *Keltoi* an important label, as opposed to more specific terms such as Helveti and Arverni is a moot point, however (Cunliffe 1997, 268-69; Collis 2003, 105, 195-96; Harding / Gillies 2005, 4-5; Koch et al. 2007, 1; cf. T. Champion 1995, 88). That individuals can have multiple ethnic identities (Welsh, British, European, Celtic etc.) is widely recognized, and this is equally true of the past, as we can see from cases such as Ariovistus (a Gaulish-speaking German), St Patrick (British? Roman? Irish?) or Gerald of Wales (too Welsh for the Normans and too Norman for the Welsh).

[24] See Powell 1958, 17-18; Dietler 1994, 586; Collis 1996a, 18; Collis 2010, 35-36; Cunliffe 1997, 4, 145-46; Sims-Williams 1998b, 26; Harding / Gillies 2005, 3.

[25] Their languages were probably mutually incomprehensible by about the fifth century AD. Throughout the historical period, the Welsh have often shown contempt for the inhabitants of the neighbouring island, branding them "wild men", *Gwyddyl*, a word which, although adopted by the Irish as a term of self-definition (Old Irish *Goídil*), has retained insulting connotations in Welsh until the modern period, as can be seen from the habit of referring disparagingly to the ex-British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as *yr hen Wyddeles,* "the old Irishwoman" (Brooks 1998; Wmffre 2007, 48-49; cf. Fynes-Clinton 1913, I, 190; Evans 1989, 143 and 160-61; Sims-Williams 1998b, 14; Mac Cana 2007, 26-27).

[26] See Powell 1958, 19; Sims-Williams 1998b, 15; Evans 1999, 6-7; Collis 1999, 99-102, 104; Collis 2003, 34-40.

[27] John Collis argues that Lhwyd was aware of Buchanan's work, but did not acknowledge it for political reasons (Collis 2003, 43). Michael Morse's claim that Lhwyd did not name his language group "Celtic" (Morse 2005, 19, 22, 25-26) is unjustified (note Lhwyd's "sort of *Latin-Celtic Dictionary*", quoted at Morse 2005, 27).

[28] See e.g. James 1998, 205; James 1999, 17 and *passim*; Collis 1996a, 21; Collis 2003, *passim*; Collis 2006, 106.

[29] Kim McCone is unjustified in claiming that "there is no obvious reason" why "Celtic speakers in Britain" should not have originally called themselves "**Keltoi*" (McCone 2008, 9).

Modern commentators have been readier to follow the well-read Strabo here (e.g. Collis 2003, 27). More promisingly, John Koch quotes an origin legend of the Celts recorded by Parthenios of Apamea in the first century BC in which their eponymous ancestor Keltos is the son of Bretannos, suggesting a doctrine whereby the Celts were descended from the Britons (Koch 2009b, 77; cf. Oppenheimer 2010, 130). Potentially even more decisive is Bart Jaski's recent claim that Prudentius of Troyes ascribes *Celtica eloquentia* "Celtic eloquence" to the Irish scholar Johannes Scotus Eriugena in a letter written ca. 850, criticizing his stance on predestination (Migne 1844-55, 115.1194A). Jaski tentatively suggests that this might reflect a sense of Celtic identity in medieval Ireland which was later suppressed when the doctrine of the Scythian descent of the Irish, attested in the eleventh-century *Lebor Gabála Érenn* "the Book of the Takings of Ireland", gained precedence over an earlier version of the origin legend in which both the Irish and the Celtic Galatians descended via the Greeks from Noah's grandson Gomer (Jaski 2009, 50-54; cf. Jaski 2003). This suggestion is only valid if we are prepared to accept that the equation of *Galatae* / *Galli* and *Celtae* was known in medieval Ireland, which is perhaps unlikely (see McCone 2006, 107-8; McCone 2008, 23; Rodway 2008, 43-44). At any rate, there is no evidence to suggest that Prudentius was drawing on Irish traditions. More fundamentally, it is not certain that the phrase *Celtica eloquentia* refers to Eriugena: the passage in question is difficult and Jaski's translation is not entirely satisfactory. Dr Barry J. Lewis (personal communication) interprets *Celtica eloquentia* as a reference to the rhetoric of Gaul, i.e. Carolingian France in which Eriugena was resident. In this case *Celtica* is merely a synonym for *Gallica* which is in line with other occasional medieval examples of the word[30]. This hitherto neglected reference needs further attention.

At any rate, whatever about the labels used, Caesar (*De Bello Gallico,* 2.4, 4.20, 5.12, 5.14 and 6.13) and Tacitus (*Agricola*, 11) stressed the similarity of the ancient Britons to the Gauls in terms of language, culture, druidic religion and physical appearance, with Tacitus also comparing the customs and character of the Britons and Irish (*Agricola,* 24). Ethnic names such as Parisii and Atrebates occur on both sides of the English Channel (Collis 2003, 113-14; Meid 2008, 178-79), while Brigantes and Gangani are recorded both in Britain and Ireland (Sims-Williams 2007, 19-20). At the time that Tacitus was writing, Gaulish, Brittonic and Irish would have almost certainly have been similar enough to be mutually understood. Therefore it seems unnecessary to exclude the Britons and Irish from the Celtic fold on account of a poorly attested and externally imposed terminological distinction of dubious import. The contrast between *Celtica* and Britain which is explicit in the work of Pytheas of Marseilles (Dinan 1911, 64)[31] and Strabo (2.5.28 and 4.5.1) could be explained in geographical rather than ethnological terms, as suggested by Patrick Sims-Williams (Sims-Williams 1998b, 26-27; Sims-Williams 1999, 30; cf. Jaski 2009, 53, #14). This seems to be what John Milton had in mind in *Paradise Lost* (1667) when he located Britain and Ireland ("the utmost Isles") beyond the "Celtic fields" of the continent (I.521; see Piggott 1967, 9-10; Sims-Williams 1998b, 27).

This does raise the question of the relationship between language and ethnicity. Some academics are happy to use language as the sole valid definition of a Celt[32]. Of course this has its advan-

[30] Cf. the usage of Heiric of Auxerre in the ninth century (see Dumville 1983, 89). There is a rather more ambiguous reference to *Celtica lingua* in the (?) ninth-century poem *Waltharius* (see the possible interpretations discussed by Dumville 1983; Jaski 2009, 50-51).

[31] Note that Dinan translates *Keltike* as "France" (Dinan 1911, 65)!

[32] E.g. Dillon / Chadwick 1967, 3; Dillon 1968, 85; Renfrew 1987, 225; De Bernardo Stempel 2006, 36-37; Isaac 2007, 365; Koch et al. 2007, 3, 6; cf. Cunliffe / Koch 2010b, 2.

tages. The existence of a group of languages descended from a hypothetical parent, conventionally known as Celtic (following the lead of Edward Lhwyd), which in turn descends from Proto-Indo-European, is a scientific fact (Fraser 1926, 261; Koch 2000, 17-19; McCone 2008, 36-37, 39-40; Cunliffe / Koch 2010b, 7). Phonology can be used diagnostically to determine whether or not a language is Celtic, thus the Lusitanian inscriptions from the north west of the Iberian peninsula cannot be Celtic, despite some "Celtic-looking" features, due to the survival of Indo-European /p/, lost in the Celtic languages (e.g. Irish *iasc* "fish" v. Latin *piscis*). This /p/ can be seen, for instance, in the Lusitanian word for "pig", *porcom*, cf. Latin *porcus* and contrast Old Irish *orc* (Wodtko 2010, 340, 358)[33]. However, from a methodological point of view, it is difficult to justify defining the Celts solely in linguistic terms. *Keltoi*, *Galatai* etc. were ethnic not linguistic labels, and language was almost certainly not the sole criterion by which they were defined, externally or internally[34]. Many modern scholars place a high (perhaps unduly high) emphasis on self-definition as the key feature of ethnicity (e.g. Jones 1997, xiii and *passim*; James 1999, 76; cf. Evans 1999, 11). This principle can lead to extremes of voluntarism, with ethnicity seen as "to a large extent a matter of choice" (Renfrew 1994, 157; cf. Renfrew 1996, 130)[35]. This is every bit as unsatisfactory as solely defining Celts as speakers of Celtic languages – if applied rigorously to the ancient period, it would leave us with virtually no Celts at all! The truth is that, no matter how sophisticated our theories about ethnicity become, they will always founder on the problem of lack of evidence when applied to ancient, semi-literate subjects. Language is an important factor in the construction of ethnicity and one which can be quantified objectively – speakers of mutually comprehensible Celtic languages must have recognized some sort of affinity with one another when they met, in a way which wearers of La Tène adornment, say, cannot be proved to have done.

Nor is the linguistic term "Celtic" a modern invention, as is sometimes stated (e.g. by Powell 1958, 17). The Classical authors speak of *Celtica lingua* and *Gallica lingua*[36], apparently using these terms as synonyms. Language features in discussions of ethnicity, distinguishing Gauls from Germans but connecting them to Britons (e.g. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico,* 1.47; Tacitus, *Agricola*, 11; *Germania*, 28 and 43; cf. Collis 2003, 45). The importance of language as a marker of commonality and of difference does of course predate eighteenth-century theorizing about the equivalence of nations and languages, by Herder, for example, a fact which is rather downplayed by some modern

[33] This is not to imply that the affinity of all ancient languages can be uncontroversially ascertained – in some cases the evidence is too sparse or ambiguous (see Evans 1991, 9 on the problem of Pictish, and compare the current controversy about Tartessian referred to below).

[34] See discussion by, among others, Powell 1958, 17; Evans 1991, 5-6; Evans 1995, 9; Evans 1999, 2; Waddell 1995, 165-66; Megaw / Megaw 1997, 110-11; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 29-30, 74 and *passim;* Sims-Williams 1998b, 18; James 1999, 81; Collis 2003, 16, 128; Collis 2010, 35, 39.

[35] Thus we find self-proclaimed Celts all over the place in the modern period (for one example see Ruiz Zapatero 2006, 207). Cf. Marion Bowman's "cardiac Celts", people of any ethnic or linguistic background who feel in their hearts that they are "Celtic" (Bowman 1996, 246; cf. Dietler 2006, 239). See the criticism of Megaw / Megaw 1996, 176; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 31. In the ancient period, of course, the picture is skewed by almost complete lack of evidence. The fact that we have no record of, say, Boudica calling herself a Celt does not prove that she did not: we have no record of Boudica calling herself anything!

[36] *Celtica lingua*, as opposed to the more frequent *Gallica lingua,* is first recorded in the fourth century AD, as far as I know (see Sims-Williams 1998b, 16, #59; Collis 2003, 45-46). John Collis's statement that "the concept of a group of related languages that could be labelled Celtic was a much later discovery" (Collis 2003, 16) seems unwarranted in view of the early use of "Celtic" as a linguistic term and of comments by Tacitus and Jerome concerning the similarity of the British and Gaulish languages and the similarity of the languages of the Galatians and the Gaulish Treveri respectively.

scholars[37]. Languages and peoples were the same thing according to the Tower of Babel episode in the Old Testament (Genesis, 11), and Isidore of Seville stressed the primacy of language in ethnogenesis (*Etymologiae*, IX.i.i). In Middle Welsh, the word *iaith* denoted both language and people (similar developments can be seen in Russian (see Rodway 2006, 201, #21) and Germanic (Evans 1980-82, 248))[38]. The ancient Celts and Germans may have seemed almost indistinguishable from far off Athens or Rome, but the difference in language between them would have been obvious both to them and to anyone who tried to communicate with them (Wells 1995, 606; Cunliffe 1997, 237-38; Sims-Williams 1998b, 27-28). Of course, bilingualism and language change complicated the picture. However, we have evidence for languages which we define as "Celtic" in every area in which *Keltoi* etc. are located by ancient authors (Koch et al. 2007, 8-9; cf. Sims-Williams 1998b, 29; Harding / Gillies 2005, 5; Isaac 2007, 377, #5), which to my mind is rather more significant than the fact that some Celtic-speakers were apparently not called *Keltoi* before the modern period. No doubt this makes me a "linguistic determinist" in the eyes of John Collis (2010, 36)! However, applying the primarily linguistic term "Celtic" to the ancient Britons and Irish seems at least as acceptable as using the non-traditional term "Germanic" (a neologism in Tacitus's time, and probably not a Germanic word) for all speakers of Germanic languages, including Scandinavians who were never called *Germani* by anyone, as far as we know[39]. In fact, most modern linguists are scrupulous about distinguishing "Celts" from "Celtic speakers". Conversely, a failure to engage with linguistic issues is a serious weakness in the majority of "Celtosceptic" studies (see Sims-Williams 1999, 31; Koch et al. 2007, 7).

However, there are limits to what linguistics can tell us about the extent and chronology of Celtic settlement in the ancient world. The best evidence for Celtic speakers is inscriptions in Celtic languages, but these are confined mainly to the Mediterranean area (where writing developed), and do not date back further than the sixth century BC (Prosdocimi / Solinas 1991; de Hoz 2007)[40]. There are no vernacular inscriptions in Ireland before about the fifth century AD (Sims-Williams 2007, 80-82), and Roman Britain has yielded only two curse tablets from Bath in a Celtic language (Mullen 2007). In the absence of inscriptions, personal, place and ethnic names can help to fill in the gaps[41]. There are of course problems of interpretation with this data. Celtic names may have been borne by non-Celtic-speakers, for instance (Sims-Williams 2007, 185; Falileyev et al. 2010a, 4), as is apparently the case with the leaders of the probably Germanic-speaking Cimbri

[37] E.g. McDonald 1989, 9-10; Anderson 1991, 67-80; Chapman 1992, 16; Hobsbawm 1992, 102-3. John Collis lays undue emphasis on Paul-Yves Pezron (1639-1706) as the pioneer of the classification of Celts on linguistic grounds (Collis 2003, 48-49).

[38] Some Welsh-speakers today call English monoglots, some of whom would certainly call themselves "Welsh, Irish, American" etc., *Saeson* "English" on account of their language (cf. Koch 2003, 41). A friend of mine, an Irishwoman who learned Welsh, was surprised when she was asked by a Welsh acquaintance if her Irish husband was a *Sais* "Englishman" – what the acquaintance meant, of course, was "is he a non-Welsh-speaker?"

[39] See Powell 1958, 165; Evans 1980-82, 236; Sims-Williams 1999, 30; McCone 2008, 37; Meid 2008, 178 and #2. In the words of John Koch: "the Greeks did not call themselves Greeks, nor the Hittites, Hittites, nor the Germans, Germans. In short, so what?" (Koch 2003, 43; cf. Megaw / Megaw 1999, 33).

[40] If a recent argument that the so-called "Tartessian" inscriptions from the south-western tip of the Iberian peninsula are in a Celtic language is accepted, then we have Celtic speakers in this part of the world as early as the middle of the eighth century BC (Koch 2009a; Koch 2010), but the linguistic affinity of these inscriptions is debated.

[41] See e.g. Parsons / Sims-Williams 2000; Isaac 2002; Isaac 2004a; De Hoz et al. 2005; Sims-Williams 2006; Falileyev 2007; Raybould / Sims-Williams 2007; Raybould / Sims-Williams 2009; García Alonso 2008; Falileyev et al. 2010b.

who appear in central Europe in the second century BC[42]. Conversely, some Celtic-speakers certainly bore non-Celtic names. Another problem is that the evidence for northern Europe is comparatively sparse and late. Ptolemy's *Geography* of *c.* 150 AD pretty much marks the beginning of the linguistic evidence for Ireland. The name *I(w)ernē* for the island itself is attested earlier, perhaps as early as the sixth century BC[43], but the Celticity of this name is disputed (Vennemann 1998; McCone 2008, 10-11; Schrijver 2009, 205). Even if it is Celtic, as the majority of linguists accept[44], it *could* have been bestowed on the island by Celtic-speakers in Britain rather than by natives (Sims-Williams 1998b, 20-21; Schrijver 2009, 205; cf. Harding / Gillies 2005, 6)[45]. Thus it is *possible* that Celtic-speakers did not arrive in Ireland before the first century AD, as argued by Peter Schrijver (2009, 204-6)[46], although most commentators prefer an earlier date[47].

In the absence of historical or linguistic evidence, scholars traditionally turned to archaeology to determine at what point Celts arrived in any given area. This is problematic, not least because linguists, of which I am one, tend to be unable to treat the archaeological data with any degree of sophistication, and *vice versa*[48]. Brave archaeologists such as Colin Renfrew and Barry Cunliffe who have dared to dip their toes into linguistic waters have been roundly criticized for their pains. For this reason, I present my comments on archaeological approaches to the question of Celticity with due humility! Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Celts have been connected to the archaeological cultures known as Hallstatt and La Tène[49]. In the past it was widely accepted that the spread of La Tène-style objects reflected the spread of the Celts from their ancestral heartland in central Europe. However, the distribution of these objects does not extend to all the areas in which *Keltoi* etc. are located or in which Celtic languages were spoken (Dietler 1994, 586; Harding / Gillies 2005, 6, 11)[50].

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[42] On the Cimbri, and the problem of their origin and ethnicity, see Powell 1958, 162-63; Evans 1980-82, 238; Wells 1995, 606; Cunliffe 1997, 221-22, 237; Sims-Williams 1998b, 19, #71, 27; Collis 2003, 109, 183-84, 209. Note the early modern belief that the Cimbri were Celtic-speakers (Collis 2003, 24, 40, 63). Cf. Powell 1958, 170 on possibly Celtic names among the Germanic Suebi.

[43] On the date of the earliest reference to *I(w)ernē,* see Powell 1958, 25-26; Sims-Williams 1998b, 20, #74; Collis 2003, 126; Koch et al. 2007, 13.

[44] Celtic etymologies are discussed by Rhys 1873-75, 195-96; Pokorny 1916; Pokorny 1925; Koch 1991, 21; Koch 2003, 45; Koch 2009b, 81-82; Sims-Williams 1998b, 20; Isaac 2009.

[45] John Koch argues vigorously against this (2003, 45-47).

[46] Cf. the speculation of Powell 1958, 60.

[47] For a summary of various views, see Koch 2003, 44.

[48] Martyn Jope and Christopher Hawkes referred to the "hard ice that traditionally has separated the minds of linguists from archaeologists" (Jope / Hawkes 1984, 94; see also Raftery 1994, 223; James 1999, 80-81). The "just perceptible thawing" noted by Jope and Hawkes at the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies at Oxford in 1983 has progressed rather more slowly than might have been hoped, to judge from the fact that archaeological papers were held on a different campus from linguistic and literary contributions at the Thirteenth International Congress of Celtic Studies at Bonn in 2007! See Cunliffe / Koch 2010b, 5-6 for a recent plea for inter-disciplinary engagement in Celtic studies.

[49] For the development of this equation, see e.g. Powell 1958, 45-52; Champion 1996, 70; Champion 2006, 135-37; Collis 1996a, 23; Collis 2006, 100-02; Cunliffe 1997, 31-32; James 1999, 56-57; Morse 2005, 139-41.

[50] Gearóid Mac Eoin gives a tongue-in-cheek description of a proud Celtic-speaking Irishman, who, seeing that Ireland is a pristine white on the map of the distribution of Celtic settlement in the third century BC from the exhibition at Hallein near Salzburg in 1980 (Pauli 1980, 31), assumes that the poor Austrian archaeologists have made an elementary error in failing to recognize this most Celtic of countries for what it is (Mac Eoin 1986, 161)! (Note that Mac Eoin's comments are apparently taken at face value by Kim McCone (2008, 1)).

In northern Italy, for instance, we have speakers of the Celtic language known as Lepontic from the sixth century BC onwards (as we know from a number of inscriptions) who are clearly connected with the very different Golasecca culture[51]. Even after the documented Gaulish expansion into Italy in the fourth century BC[52], La Tène-style objects cannot always be connected with ethnic Celts, as the fashion seems to have spread to non-Celtic peoples in the area such as the Ligurians and Venetians (Megaw / Megaw 1989, 108-10; Collis 1996a, 29; Collis 2003, 192-93; Frey 1996, 61-62). Similar problems could be cited from Spain, Galatia and other areas where we have historical and linguistic evidence for Celtic settlement[53]. Thus we must conclude that the archaeological cultures traditionally associated with the Celts cannot be used diagnostically to locate ethnic or linguistic Celts in ancient Europe and Asia Minor (Sims-Williams 1998b, 31-32). The spread of La Tène from its heartland was certainly too late to be linked to the spread of the Celtic languages (Dillon / Chadwick 1967, 2; Cunliffe 1997, 25, 269; Harding / Gillies 2005, 11).

Alternative scenarios linking Celts with other archaeological features have been proposed, of which I shall mention only a couple of the most recent[54]. Barry Cunliffe associated the spread of the Celtic languages with the Bronze Age material culture of the Atlantic seaboard, suggesting a reversal of the traditional direction of the Celticization of Europe[55]. This has been criticized on linguistic grounds by Graham Isaac and by Wolfgang Meid – they argue that the Celtic languages are more closely related to eastern Indo-European language groups such as Indo-Iranian and Slavic than to western groups such as Italic and Germanic, which means that Celtic must have originally spread from east to west rather than west to east[56]. This does not rule out subsequent movement back from the west, of course (Cunliffe / Koch 2010b, 3-4; Koch 2010, 192-93). Indeed most of the historically attested Celtic migrations went in this direction. The linguist John Koch favours a "Celticization from the west" scenario in the light of his identification of the "Tartessian" inscriptions from the south west of the Iberian peninsula as Celtic (see Koch 2009a; Cunliffe / Koch 2010a). Far less rigorously argued is the identification by Mario Alinei and Francesco Benozzo of Stone Age megalithism as a marker of Celtic settlement. According to this theory, William Stukeley and the modern New Age druids are right, and Stonehenge really is Celtic! This argument is based partly on modern folklore and thus presupposes a truly unbelievable level of cultural continuity, spanning millennia (Alinei / Benozzo 2008-09; cf. Alinei 2003, 34).

At a methodological level, the identification of ethnic or linguistic groups by means of material culture is highly problematic, especially in prehistory. In the words of John Waddell, it is "at

[51] See Prosdocimi / Solinas 1991; de Marinis 1991; Frey 1995, 515; Frey 1996, 77; Cunliffe 1997, 70-71; Sims-Williams 1998b, 31; Karl 2006; de Hoz 2007, 1-2; Koch et al. 2007, 11.

[52] Livy's reference to a Gaulish invasion of northern Italy ca. 600 is unreliable (Collis 2003, 21-22, 61, 111, 121-22, 169-70).

[53] See Megaw / Megaw 1995, 369; Cunliffe 1997, 133, 139, 141-42, 176, 180; Collis 2003, 158-59, 176-77, 191; Lorrio / Ruiz Zapatero 2005, 36, 44; Quesada Sanz 2005; Koch et al. 2007, 1, 9, 11-15. Note that Joseph Déchelette admitted the spread of La Tène culture to the Germans (Déchelette 1910, 5; see Collis 2003, 90). John Collis mentions the possibility that La Tène items might have been produced by Germanic speakers in Denmark (Collis 2003, 184-85, 209).

[54] Useful surveys of earlier hypotheses are provided by Waddell 1995, 159-61; Pauli 2007, 12-16.

[55] E.g. Cunliffe 1997, 155-56, 270; Cunliffe 2001, 293-97; Cunliffe 2003, 54-55; Cunliffe 2010, 34-35; Koch et al. 2007, 15-16.

[56] Isaac 2004b, 49-54; Isaac 2010; Meid 2008, 179-80; cf. Schmidt 1992, 59-60; Schmidt 1993, 64-65. This is not universally accepted, however. Recent reiterations of the "Italo-Celtic" theory criticized by Isaac et al. can be found in Kortlandt 2007, 149-57; Fife 2009, 4-5; Eska 2009, 22 (with further references).

best a speculative exercise and, at worst, as some would see it, a futile venture" (Waddell 1991, 5)[57]. The traditional idea that archaeologically discrete cultures, languages and named peoples can be unproblematically equated[58], and that changes in the archaeological record must be interpreted in terms of invasion has long been all but abandoned in British and Irish archaeology (see Clark 1966; Waddell 1978). However, it must be recognized that "immobilism", the fallacy that populations never moved in prehistory, is equally to be resisted – this can be detected in Colin Renfrew's vision of Celtic languages developing *in situ* in western Europe from about 4500 BC (Renfrew 1987, 245; cf. James 1999, 83, 88), and even more so in the Palaeolithic Continuity Theory of Mario Alinei who claims that "Western Europe must of course have always been Celtic, and the recent prehistory of Western Europe – from the Megalithic culture through the Beaker Bell to the colonialistic La Tène – must have all been Celtic" (Alinei 2003, 34)[59]! The fact of the matter is that languages could not have spread at all in the pre-modern world without some movement of people[60]. One tendency in British and Irish archaeology since the 1970s has been to envision linguistic and cultural change as a result of prolonged, small-scale movement of people, a process labelled "cumulative Celticity" by Christopher Hawkes (1973; cf. Renfrew 1987, 246-48; Waddell 1991, 13-15; Waddell 1995, 167; Karl 2010, 39). This has been dismissed by some as a "vague compromise theory" (Evans 1980-82, 234). A further problem is that "archaeological cultures" such as La Tène and Hallstatt are themselves scholarly constructs which may impose a false sense of homogeneity on an underlying messy reality (see e.g. Karl 2010, 49-55). Some archaeologists have come to the conclusion that the search for Celtic origins is not only impossible, but also ultimately meaningless (Pauli 2007; Karl 2010)! There is much to be said for simply placing the linguistic and archaeological evidence side by side without imposing a theoretical framework on it (Koch et al. 2007, 1)[61].

While modern scholars are cautious about what archaeology can tell us about the spread of the Celts, some population geneticists have been surprisingly optimistic about the amount of light their discipline can shed on this question (e.g. Bodmer 1993; cf. Harvey et al. 1986). This is reminiscent of nineteenth-century Celtic studies in which much was made of the physical or "racial" characteristics of the Celts, particularly the shape of their skulls (see Collis 2003, 59-60; Morse 2005, 95-125; Champion 2006, 129, 133-34). This sort of approach was largely abandoned by the end of the nineteenth century[62], not only on ideological but also on empirical grounds – ethnic and linguistic groups are not biologically bounded and biological characteristics are passed on in a

[57] Cf. D. Ellis Evans (1980-82, 231): "The mutual relationship of the disciplines of archaeology and comparative philology in prehistoric research is still an uneasy one and, I have very little doubt, one that is by and large unfruitful." Cf. Fraser 1926, 262-63; Daniel 1954, 158-60; Sims-Williams 1998b, 29. A wholly unconvincing case for the correspondence of a wide range of archaeological cultures with the modern distribution of various European languages (or even dialects!) reflecting settlement patterns in the Palaeolithic is made by Alinei 2003, 29-33.

[58] As formulated by Gustav Kossinna and later by Gordon Childe (see Collis 2003, 86-87).

[59] Cf. Alinei / Benozzo 2008-09, 17. A less extreme version of immobilism can be seen in Brun 1995, 13 and de Marinis 1991, 96 who project Alpine and northern Italian Celts respectively back into the Bronze Age on the grounds of archaeological continuity. Further examples of "immobilist" theories can be found in Megaw / Megaw 1997, 115.

[60] See Waddell 1991, 12; Collis 2003, 128-29; Collis 2010, 39; Harding / Gillies 2005, 9; McCone 2008, 42. We have historical records of Celtic invasions or migrations (Gauls into northern Italy, Galatians into the Balkans and Asia Minor, Belgae into Britain and so forth). Equally, Celticists do not have to be reminded that language change can occur on a major scale without huge displacement of population – all of the Celtic countries have experienced this in the modern period (see e.g. Pool 1975, Dorian 1981; Durkacz 1983; Hindley 1990).

[61] Notwithstanding the specific criticisms of Karl 2010, 43.

[62] Although supposed biological characteristics of the Celts still appear, with caveats, in the work of T.G.E. Powell (1958, 65-67).

very different way to language and culture. The coincidence of these features cannot be predicted[63]. Certain biological characteristics can be shown to be higher in the modern populations of "Celtic" countries than elsewhere (see e.g. McEvoy / Bradley 2010, 107-08, 111-12), but the date of their arrival in these areas cannot be precisely ascertained and thus cannot be synchronized with the advent of a Celtic language, even if we were able to date the latter event[64]! On the other hand, non-Celtic-speaking areas of modern Europe such as England and France could well be teeming with people whose biological ancestors spoke Brittonic or Gaulish. Indeed, the concept that the French, with their Germanic ethnonym and Romance language, derive from *nos ancêtres les Gaulois,* and are thus, in some way, fundamentally Celtic, is deeply embedded in French historiography (see McDonald 1986, 337; McDonald 1989, 106; Dietler 1994; Collis 2003, 199). Chapman notes that there is "every reason to suppose that direct descendants of the British who rose under Boadicea [*sic*] now live in Suffolk under Anglo-Saxon names" (Chapman 1992, 22-23; cf. Powell 1958, 170-71, 182; Collis 2003, 230; Røyrvik 2010, 96)[65]. Geneticists can be selective about which parts of Europe are still "Celtic" on account of Celtic presence there in antiquity – Lucotte and Hazout count the Czech Republic and Austria but not France (apart from Brittany) as "Celtic" in their study of the ethnic affinities of a cystic fibrosis gene, which is convenient from the point of view of their conclusions, but utterly indefensible on methodological grounds (Lucotte / Hazout 1995, 566; cf. Sims-Williams 1998a, 513). Indeed, hypotheses about ethnicity and language in the ancient world based on genetic evidence are methodologically unsound in general, however popular this approach has become. The geneticist Stephen Oppenheimer's recent well-publicized contention that there were Germanic speakers in Britain before the Roman Conquest (Oppenheimer 2006, 267-307) is reminiscent of Macalister's contention in 1935 that a small number of Teutons had settled in Ireland in the Iron Age, leaving no linguistic traces but bestowing tall stature and fair hair on their Irish-speaking descendants (Macalister 1935, 82-83)[66]. Neither of these claims can be disproved, of course, but in the absence of linguistic evidence they remain mere speculation[67]. In 1998 Patrick Sims-Williams concluded that: "A convincing synthesis of genetics, linguistics and prehistoric archaeology is still some way off" (Sims-Williams 1998a, 524). Over a decade later, that conclusion still seems valid (cf. Cunliffe / Koch 2010b, 4-5).

As we progress into the Middle Ages and beyond, it is harder to justify the use of the "Celtic" label apart from in a strictly linguistic sense (cf. Sims-Williams 1998b, 11). In the words of T.G.E.

[63] See Fraser 1926, 264; Hubert 1934, 27-32; Daniel 1954, 157-58; Evans 1991, 4; Evans 1997, 6-7; Chapman 1992, 76-93; Sims-Williams 1998a; Sims-Williams 1998b, 18-19; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 30; James 1999, 83-84; Koch 2000, 17, #7; Collis 2003, 218-22; Lewullion 2006, 187-90; Røyrvik 2010, 83.

[64] The genetic data derived from principal component analysis is inherently undatable, while the dates estimated for genetic splits in, say, mitochondrial DNA or the Y chromosome are not only ambiguous in their relationship to population movement, but often have such a high margin of error "as to be useless in respect of human history" (Røyrvik 2010, 93) – see also Pluciennik 1996; Sims-Williams 1998a, 512, 524; James 1999, 84; McEvoy / Bradley 2010, 110; Oppenheimer 2010. Røyrvik 2010, 84-91 provides a useful overview of the study of population genetics for the uninitiated.

[65] Compare Higham 1992, 209, 234 on supposed ethnic/genetic continuity between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England (cf. James 1999, 112-13).

[66] The reasoning is the same as that of Tacitus who hypothesized that the Caledonians were descended from the Germans on account of their reddish hair and large limbs (*Agricola,* 11). Note that Mario Alinei imagines proto-Germanic in what is now eastern England during the Palaeolithic period (Alinei 2003, 34; Alinei / Benozzo 2008-09, 21-22)!

[67] See Parsons 2010, 173-74, #9 for criticism of Oppenheimer along these lines.

Powell, we approach the "historical frontier [...] beyond which a study of the Celts should not go" (Powell 1958, 182). No sense of shared ethnicity, Celtic or otherwise, is apparent among speakers of insular Celtic languages before the early modern period. Some features of Irish and Welsh literature can plausibly be explained as relics of a Celtic past, notably the chariot-fighting, head-hunting and "heroes' portions" of the early Irish Ulster Cycle which echo so nearly Posidonios's description of the ancient Gauls[68]. However, it is methodologically unsound to assume Celtic continuity rather than foreign influence, intra-Celtic borrowing or independent development in every case[69]. Even when related words are used in different Celtic languages, we cannot be sure that anything more than the word itself has survived. The fact that cognate words for poets exist in Gaulish, Old Irish and Welsh (*bardoi*, *baird*, *beirdd*) does not necessarily mean that the praise poets of these cultures were more similar to each other than they were to Latin or Old English praise poets (see Sims-Williams 1984; Sims-Williams 1998b, 9). Individual cases must be judged on their own merits, with the admission that in many instances it will simply be impossible to decide (see e.g. Sims-Williams 1982, 236-38; Koch 2000, 19-22 and *passim*).

The religious upheavals of the sixteenth century and beyond drove a wedge between Bretons and Welsh on the one hand and between Irish and Scottish Gaels on the other – even in the twentieth century, religious differences could be a bar to feelings of mutual Celticity, as Thomas Parry noted in his obituary of J. Lloyd-Jones who had spent most of his working life in Catholic Dublin but managed, rightly in Parry's eyes, to maintain his separate Nonconformist Welsh identity (Parry 1996, 127)[70]. The modern Celtic countries can only really be defined as such on account of their languages, which by now are mutually incomprehensible[71]. That some of their inhabitants think of themselves as "Celts" is undeniable, but this ethnic definition is mostly subordinate to "Welsh", "Scottish", "Breton", "Irish" etc.[72] Modern "pan-Celtic" movements (see e.g. Löffler 2006; cf. McDonald 1986, 334, 339; McDonald 1989, 111-16; Champion 2006, 132) have had negligible impact in terms of fostering a common Celtic culture or politics in our era. The undoubted feeling of common cause which exists in some Celtic-speaking circles is mainly due to the unhappy accident that all of the Celtic languages are under threat from English or French[73]. The opposition of

[68] See e.g. Powell 1958, 110-11; Jackson 1964; Dillon / Chadwick 1967, 6-9, 240, 244, 246, 248; Cunliffe 1997, 26-27, 105; Koch 2000; McCone 2008, 47-49, but note the cautious conclusions of Maier 2000, 14.

[69] See Chapman 1992, 287 for criticism of what he calls "the cult of the cult of the head" among modern Celtic scholars (i.e. a prejudicial readiness to interpret all iconographic or literary examples of disembodied heads in "Celtic" contexts as evidence for an ancient Celtic "cult of the head"), for example. Cf. similar approaches to "head-hunting" in Celtic sources by Maier 2000, 12-14; Collis 2003, 215-16, but contrast McCone 2008, 47 – a cautiously agnostic approach is evident in Koch 2000, 34-35. Compare the general comments of Koch et al. 2007, 1.

[70] Cf. Jenkins 1997, 37 on the religious differences between Scots and Welsh which were apparently more important to Scots in the 1930s than their shared Celticity, as reported by Saunders Lewis. The comments of Parry and Jenkins are discussed by Patrick Sims-Williams (1998b, 5-7).

[71] Awareness at an intellectual level that the Celtic languages are related can indeed lead to exaggerated claims about their mutual comprehensibility, as stated by Hildegard L.C. Tristram (1996, 56), but the examples she cites (e.g. "speakers of Irish who stoutly affirm that they can understand Welsh ('Cambro-Irish')") are extreme and uncharacteristic of my experience. Cf. McDonald 1986, 339; McDonald 1989, 114-15.

[72] See e.g. Chapman 1992, 260; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 53; James 1999, 17; Collis 2003, 198; Collis 2010, 34.

[73] See, for instance, McDonald 1986, 341; McDonald 1989, 119. This may fit in with a certain view of the Celts as a perennially "marginal" people (expressed in Romantic terms by Ernest Renan (1896, 4-5) and in structuralist terms by Malcolm Chapman (1992, *passim*)), but the powerful Celtic warlords who sacked Rome and Delphi and imposed tribute on Byzantium would scarcely have recognized such a definition and neither, one suspects, would, say, the highly influential scholars of early Christian Ireland (see Meek 1996, 150-51; McCone 2008, 43)! Cf. Megaw / Megaw 1995,

Celt and German, so important in popular discourse about the Celts since the writings of Matthew Arnold in the 1860s (Super 1962, 299-300), was not inherent and ancient (*pace* Evans 1980-82, 255), but a product of a very specific power relationship in the modern period[74].

And so finally, some definitions. We have seen that linguists, historians, archaeologists, art historians, geneticists etc. (not to mention "the general public") use the term "Celt" in sometimes very different ways. Some have argued, therefore, that the term is essentially meaningless and should be abandoned. A rather different approach is evident in the work of Raimund Karl who starts out from a similar position to that of the "Celtosceptics", namely that "'the Celts' never existed as a real thing, but only as a construct" (Karl 2010, 46), but goes on to argue that the very emptiness of the label "Celtic" validates any usage of it! He thus provides the following infinitely inclusive definition:

> a Celt is someone who *either* speaks a Celtic language *or* produces or uses Celtic art *or* material culture *or* has been referred to as one in the historical records *or* has identified himself *or* been identified by others as such &c (Karl 2010, 47, cf. 45-46).

This at least evinces a generosity of spirit conspicuously absent in some of the "Celtosceptic" work! However, I am not sure how useful it is at a practical level. Of course, within the parameters of a certain discipline, any carefully defined usage of a term such as "Celtic" can be justified. Thus if an archaeologist wishes to use "Celtic" as a short-hand for, say, "La Tène-style cultural assemblages", or if a linguist writes "Celtic" rather than "the Indo-European sub-group comprising Gaulish, Irish etc. and characterized by, among other things, loss of /p/", that is perfectly acceptable on methodological grounds, even if other scholars may bridle at the chosen term. In works of synthesis, however, care must be taken to harmonize these different usages as much as possible in order to avoid conceptual confusion.

That the Celts were a genuine ethnic group in the ancient world is certain. Even if the ancient Britons and Irish were not called Celts they were linguistically (and culturally) akin to the continental Celts in a way that the *Germani*, say, were not. We must certainly not assume, however, that they shared a common "Celtic culture". The evidence must be allowed to speak for itself. Should we speak of "archaeological Celts"? In some cases, Celts or Celtic-speakers can be connected with archaeological "cultures", particularly that of La Tène, but as we have seen we cannot solely use

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354 on the evidence of art as a corrective to viewing the ancient Celts exclusively in terms of their peripheral relationship to the core cultures of Greece and Rome. John Collis makes the point that not all the Classical writers presented the Celts as "Others" – some, such as Martial, were at least partially Celtic themselves (Collis 1999, 92; Collis 2003, 14, 22, 23, 26).

[74] See Piggott 1967; Sims-Williams 1986, 71-74, 82-84, 96. Cf. the perceived dichotomy between "Celtic" France and Germany in the late nineteenth century (McDonald 1986, 336; McDonald 1989, 102; Dietler 1994, 592). On the more or less harmonious relationship of Celts and Germans in the ancient world, see Powell 1958, 165-66 (but note the criticism of Evans 1980-82, 239); Cunliffe 1997, 237-38. According to Tacitus, the northern Briton Calgacus (with a good Celtic name!) was quite prepared to make common cause with Germans against the Romans (*Agricola,* 32), just as the author of the tenth-century Welsh poem *Armes Prydain* "the Prophecy of Britain" included Germanic-speaking Vikings from Dublin in his proposed alliance against the English (Williams / Bromwich 1972, line 9; see Sims-Williams 1998b, 11-12; McCone 2008, 19). As late as the eighteenth century, Celts and Germans were commonly believed by antiquarians to be closely related (Droixhe 1996; Morse 2005, 42; Collis 2006, 104). Ruth and Vincent Megaw report that the distinction between Celt and Saxon is considerably less noticeable in Australia, where the dominant "Anglo-Celtic" (!) culture defines itself as such in opposition to other cultures (Megaw / Megaw 1996, 176; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 20).

the distribution of La Tène objects to map the extent of Celtic settlement in the ancient world. However, banishing the word "Celt" entirely from the vocabulary of Iron Age archaeology, as some archaeologists would like to do (e.g. Collis 1995, 77; S. Champion 1995, 411; Renfrew 1996, 132-33; cf. Lorrio / Ruiz Zapatero 2005, 33-34), risks losing sight of genuine linguistic and cultural connections between, say, Britain and Gaul[75]. Pushing the term "Celt" back into the Bronze Age is much more problematic. Genetic Celticity seems to be a dead end. You cannot predict a person's language, ethnicity or culture from his or her genetic makeup any more than you can by measuring his or her skull. The Celticity of Welsh author Dewi Prysor does not reside in his apparently Irish genes, as claimed in a recent television documentary *Ydw i'n Gelt?* ("Am I a Celt?," broadcast on S4C on 13th May 2008). Subjectivists would concede that he is a Celt (in the modern "constructed" sense at least) on the grounds that he claims to be one (Chapman 1992, 251; Cunliffe 1997, 267; James 1999, 137): those of us looking for a more concrete criterion might admit him on the grounds that he speaks a Celtic language.

So far, I have not even mentioned the Celts of Tylis, the subject of this conference. They have recently been subjected to a "Celtosceptic" analysis by D.R.J. Campbell (2009), who interprets them as Illyrian bandits, unrelated to the Gauls to the west or the Galatians to the east. However, linguistic evidence (which is entirely ignored by Campbell), including the name Cauarus, borne by the last king of Tylis (cf. Welsh *cawr* "giant"), suggests that at least some of them were Celtic-speaking. In this case we, like some of the Classical authors, can call them "Celts".

"A reader" might well wonder, as Malcolm Chapman admits, "why the Celts should come under such scrutiny when others are left alone – the English, the French, the Germans, the 'Indo-Europeans', and so on?" (Chapman 1992, xv). Chapman's claim that he chose the Celts as the subject of his deconstruction more or less at random looks disingenuous, at least from the "Celtic Fringe"[76]. Of course, it is a truism to state that all identities are in some way "constructed". However the consensus seems to be that some are more "constructed" than others. "Whatever exactly a construct is, the term seems to imply an identity that is somehow less than legitimate" as John Koch has noted (2003, 42). Malcolm Chapman, Simon James and John Collis all stress the potential danger of nationalism based on what they see as a bogus sense of Celtic identity[77]. They seem less aware of (or less concerned with) another danger. The Celtic languages have been on the margins of Europe, geographically and conceptually, since the Middle Ages. There is a real danger that none of them will survive the twenty-first century as living media of communication. The perhaps unconscious disdain perceptible in much of the recent "Celtosceptic" critiques, and the frequent absence of language issues from the discussion, betrays an attitude of linguistic and cultural entitlement at the "centre" which can only hasten this process. This should be resisted by all concerned with Celtic studies[78].

[75] Karl 2010, 39; cf. the measured comments of Fitzpatrick 1996.

[76] See Megaw / Megaw 1997, 118-19; Megaw / Megaw 1999, 43; Evans 1997, 15, #47; Sims-Williams 1998b, 3-4; Evans 1999, 8, 17; Koch 2000, 24; cf. Evans 1991, 8-9 on Renfrew 1987.

[77] E.g. Chapman 1992, 251-64; Collis 1996a, 27-28; Collis 1996b, 172, 176; James 1999, 11, 143; cf. McDonald 1986, 340 and *passim*; McDonald 1989, 97-121; Dietler 1994, 584-85, 596.

[78] I am grateful to all who commented on this paper at the conference in Sofia. I am also grateful to Dr William J. Mahon and Dr Barry J. Lewis who commented on various aspects of it and to Professor Patrick Sims-Williams who read a draft. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the conclusions and for any remaining errors.

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# The Ancient Historians on the Celtic Kingdom in South-Eastern Thrace

Dilyana Boteva

When trying to reconstruct the events connected with the Celtic Kingdom in South-Eastern Thrace the main focus falls, of course, on the testimonies of the ancient historians Polybius, Titus Livius and Pompeius Trogus/Justinus, which unfortunately are very scanty. Quite surprisingly more history is to be found in the reports of someone who has been traditionally regarded as "a Periegetes" (Calame 1990; Pritchett 1998), "a traveler and geographer" (Лазова 1988, 130) or more generally as a "travel writer" (Grant 1980, 314) and even just as a "traveler" (Potter 2008, XXV). One can easily recognize Pausanias in this description: he has only recently been approached as a historian (Bingen 1996)[1].

Nowadays it is mainly Pausanias' text which supplies us with chronological data concerning Celtic invasion in the Balkan area. When reporting the Celtic attack on Delphi, he speaks about "a severe frost and snow with it" (X.23.4), as well as about Celts "who perished in the wintry storm" (X.23.10). We owe to Pausanias the information that "the expedition of the Celts against Greece, and their destruction, took place when Anaxicrates was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad [i.e. 279/278 BC]" (X.23.14). Thus his description fits the timeframe between the last three months of 279 and the initial four to, at the most, five months of 278.

The loose dating of 279/278 BC for the attack on Delphi is accepted by some modern historians (Eilers 2001, 285; Grainger 1995, 316; Lewis 1980, 258; Nachtergael 1977, 172-73)[2] but many prefer to date it definitely to 279 BC (Heinen 2006, 423; Šašel Kos 2005, 189-96; Тачева 1997, 237; Champion 1996; Champion 1995, 213-14; Elwyn 1990, 178; Boardman et al. 1986, 845; Домарадски 1984, 77)[3].

An important piece of epigraphic evidence supplies further information about the defeat of the Gallic chieftain Brennus' forces before the sanctuary of Delphi. This is a decree from Cos (*Syll.*[3] 398.1-4) dated to between March and July 278 (Champion 1995, 215 with footnote 11), which so far is the earliest testimony of the Gallic attack against Delphi (Champion 1996, 317)[4] obviously issued very soon after the attack[5]. Thus the Coan decree supports the dating of the Gallic defeat to between the last three months of 279 and the initial four to, at most, five months of 278 – unfortunately it does not help in giving a more precise chronology. Still it gives some chronological

[1] On Pausanias' linear sequence of the wars of the Phocians starting with the Trojan War and ending with the defence of Greece against the Gauls opposed to his heroic/post-heroic division of the past see Sidebottom 2002, 495.

[2] See however Walbank et al. (2006, 499): "280/79 the Aetolians and other Greeks repel the Gauls from central Greece."

[3] Petzl (1984, 141-42) dates "in der Zeit um 280 v. Chr." the start of the Galatian invasion of Illyria, Macedonia and Thrace, and the attack on Delphi to the summer of 278 BC. Fontenrose (1981, 344 and 410) also dates the Gallic attack on Delphi to 278 BC.

[4] Champion (1996, 317 and footnote 8) refers to the Coan decree in question as *Syll.*[3] 378 *(sic)*.

[5] According to Petzl (1984, 142, n. 7) the decree was issued immediately after the attack: "die unmittelbar nach dem Galaterueberfall (Sommer 278) abgefasste Inschrift von Kos (*Syll.*[3], 398)".

terminus for the start of the great Celtic invasion of Macedonia, Thrace and Greece. It is variously dated to 280 BC (Walbank et al. 2006, 498; Šašel Kos 2005, 162; Theodossiev 2000, 81; Тачева 1997, 31 and 237; Grainger 1996, 334; Petzl 1984, 141)[6] and 279 BC (Boardman et al. 1986, 845; Delev 2003, 108).

Although the testimonies of the ancient authors have often been discussed with regard to the Celtic raids in Thrace (Theodossiev 2005 with lit.; Делев 2004, 281-86 with lit.; Delev 2003, 107-116 with lit.; Theodossiev 2000, 80-82 with lit.; Тачева 1997, 30-50 with lit.; Tacheva 1991; Домарадски 1984, 73-91; Danov 1979, 47-60 with lit.; Mihailov 1961 with lit.), each re-reading is worthwhile when trying to create a correct historical picture of the Celtic presence at the 'basileion'[7] of Tylis. Some modern historians try to connect with the history of Tylis not only Polybius' report – the only narrative[8] which explicitly refers to this Celtic 'basileion' – but the information about the Celtic raids in Thrace of the other ancient authors as well. Because of this the testimonies about all Celtic incursions in Thrace will be analyzed and re-evaluated here. The aim of the study is to make a clear distinction between the data handed down to us from the ancient writers and the conclusions one might draw on this basis, thus showing some further possibilities for understanding the evidence and reconstructing the historical events.

Presented in the chronological order of the ancient historians, the relevant testimonies are as follows:

1. **Polybius**[9] IV.45.9 – 46.4

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | ? |
| **Starting point:** | After escaping from the disaster at Delphi |
| **Commander:** | COMONTORIUS |
| **Destination:** | Reached the Hellespont, where instead of crossing to Asia, they remained on the spot, as they took a fancy to the country near Byzantium |
| **Number:** | ? |
| **Achievements/fate:** | Conquered the Thracians and established their capital at Tylis placing the Byzantines in extreme danger |
| **Number left:** | ? |
| **Further direction:** | During the inroads made under COMONTORIUS, the Byzantines continued to pay on each occasion three thousand, five thousand, and sometimes even ten thousand gold pieces to save their territory from being laid waste |
| **Number:** | ? |
| **Achievements:** | Finally the Byzantines were paying an annual tribute of eighty talents down to the reign of CAVARUS |
| **Fate:** | During CAVARUS' reign the kingdom came to an end and the whole tribe were conquered by the Thracians and annihilated |

[6] Grainger (1995, 317, n. 17) even specifies that "Macedon was invaded in force in the first half of 280".

[7] The most authoritative Greek-English dictionary offers three different meanings of the word 'basileion'; under the first the following translations are offered: "a kingly dwelling, palace; but more common in pl. the seat of the empire, a capital, royal city" (Liddell / Scott 1897, 277).

[8] The information in *Ethnika* (Steph. Byz. 640.20) is not considered here due to its ambiguity as well as the lack of a narrative explicitly connecting the respective 'polis' with the Celtic presence in Thrace.

[9] English translation by W.R. Paton.

1. *Polyb*. IV.45.9 – 46.4: Information & Problems

1.1. Comontorius reaches the Hellespont "after escaping from the disaster at Delphi", i.e. his expedition should be dated to 278 BC[10]. It is not clear, however, to which of the three groups formed by Brennus his Celts belonged – those who attacked Aetolia, those who were left at the Thermopylae, or these who reached Delphi. The third option seems to me the least likely[11], due to the statements of other ancient authors that "of so great an army" with which Brennus attacked Delphi "not a man was left"[12].

1.2. Noteworthy is the explicit explanation that "instead of crossing to Asia" Comontorius remained in the region of the Hellespont and of Byzantium. I am inclined to think that this statement was provoked by the precedent of (one or even two) Celtic crossing(s) to Asia most probably over the Straits (the Hellespont and/or the Thracian Bosporus)[13].

1.3. Comontorius reached the Hellespont and remained on the spot, taking a fancy to the country near Byzantium. He conquered the Thracians and established his capital at Tylis placing the Byzantines in extreme danger.

1.4. This initial conquest was followed by a series of successful inroads upon Byzantium, which were possible because Comontorius "remained on the spot", i.e. in the region of the Hellespont. The obvious conclusion is that Comontorius' capital Tylis should be sought in the region of the Hellespont and the country near Byzantium[14].

1.5. According to Theodossiev (2005, 86) "the Celtic forces (...) led by Comontorius established a tribal state in Thrace with its capital called Tylis, presumably located in the region of Byzantium, where another group of Gauls under the leadership of Leonorius and Loutorius had already settled". However Livy's report about these two Celtic chieftains does not support such a reconstruction[15].

1.6. The kingdom came to an end during CAVARUS' reign, when the whole tribe of the Celts was conquered by the Thracians and annihilated.

2. **POLYBIUS** IV.52.1-2

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | 220 BC |
| **Starting point:** | TYLIS ? |
| **Commander:** | CAVARUS |
| **Destination:** | BYZANTIUM |
| **Number:** | ? |
| **Achievements/fate:** | When CAVARUS came to BYZANTIUM, he did his best to put an end to the war [between Byzantium and the Bithynian king Prusias, D.B.]; trea- |

[10] Theodossiev (2005, 86) dates Comontorius' expedition to 279 BC.

[11] See Delev 2003, 108: "Polybius ... says his [Comontorius', D.B.] army had broken from the hordes of Brennus either before or after his failed attack on Delphi." According to Walbank (1957, 499) "Comontorius' men had never for the most part been members of Brennus' force".

[12] See testimony #4 here below.

[13] See testimony #3 here below.

[14] Mihailov 1961, 40; Домарадски 1984, 81; Тачева 1997, 33 and 45. For location of Tylis to the north, close to the Haemus Range, with the older literature see Oberhummer (1948), Detschew (1976, 528) and Danov (1979, 48). Surprisingly Smith (1857, 1246) places "Tyle" "on the coast of the Euxine". This much debated issue is presented by Delev 2003, 108-09 with lit. See also Grainger (1996, 330).

[15] See testimony #3 here below.

| | |
|---|---|
| | ties were made in the year of Cothon, son of Calligeiton, hieromnemon in Byzantium, with the Rhodians and with Prusias [220 BC] |
| **Number left:** | ? |
| **Achievements:** | |
| **Fate:** | During CAVARUS' reign the kingdom came to an end and the whole tribe was conquered by the Thracians and annihilated |

2. *Polyb*. IV.52.1-2: Information & Problems

2.1. In 220 BC Cavarus "came to Byzantium" engaging himself in peace negotiations between Byzantium and Prusias (king of Bithynia) who were waging a war for the control of the traffic through the Thracian Bosporus.

2.2. Such an engagement speaks in favour of Cavarus' immediate interests in the region of Straits. He was able to fulfill his mission doubtless because he was well enough known by and had influence over the two negotiating sides. Both of them were geographically connected with the Thracian Bosporus.

2.3. It is clear that in 220 BC Cavarus was still powerful and influential. It is however unclear when exactly did his "kingdom come to end, the whole tribe was conquered by the Thracians and annihilated"[16].

2.4. Despite the explicit statement of Polybius, J. Grainger (1996, 334-36) inclines to regard it as "an exaggeration" speculating that "certainly there remained Celts in the Balkan area even after Tylis' destruction". He points to these Celts as "the prime candidates to be the ally of Antiochus III in his Thracian campaigns". Because of Appian's report (*Syr.* 6) of Antiochus' III "alliance with the Galatians, which he acquired 'by gifts and fear', and from whom he also recruited soldiers", J. Grainger (1996, 335) insists that "Appian is referring to Thracian Galatians, not to the more familiar Galatians of Asia Minor". According to him "these can only be either the survivors of the defunct Tylis, or the predecessors of the Scordisci in the central Balkans". In this case, however, both possibilities offered by Grainger seem less convincing. In my opinion "the prime candidates" to be Antiochus' ally in his Thracian campaigns are the Galatians of Asia Minor.

3. **Titus Livius**[17] XXXVIII,16

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | ? |
| **Starting point:** | The Gauls under the leadership of Brennus came into the country of the Dardanians. In DARDANIA strife broke out among them; about 20 000 people *(sic)*, with Lonorius and Lutarius as their chiefs, seceded from Brennus and turned aside into THRACE. |
| **Commander:** | Lonorius[18] and Lutarius |

[16] Broadly speaking there are two dates for the collapse of Tylis – earlier and later. For the earlier dating see John Grainger (1996, 330-334), who dates it "about twenty years before Antiochus' III invasion" in Thrace", i.e. ca. 217/216, and Peter Delev (2003, 116): "during the initial years of the reign of Ptolemy IV (221-204 BC) the Celtic kingdom in Thrace came to an end in circumstances that we are ignorant of ". For the later dating see Nikola Theodossiev (2000, 81), who connects the destruction of Cavarus' kingdom with the year 213BC, and Heinz Heinen (2006, 423) with his "the kingdom of Tylis ... was to last until c. 212". The dating "c. 212" appears also in Walbank 1957, 500. Bringing together the two chronologies, Margarita Tacheva places this destruction "sometime between 218 and 212 BC" (Тачева 1997, 35 and 244).

[17] English translation by E.T. Sage.

[18] The name of this Gaulish chieftain appears more often in the modern literature as Leonorius. Here I follow the form which one finds in Livy's text as published in the Loeb Classical Library.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Destination:** | THRACE |
| **Number of the army:** | about 20 000 people[19]; three tribes (Trocmi, Tolostobogii[20], Tectosages[21]) are mentioned |
| **Achievements/fate:** | Penetrated as far as BYZANTIUM, contending against those who resisted and imposing tribute upon those who sought peace, they occupied for some *(sic)* time[22] THE COAST OF THE PROPONTIS, holding as tributaries the cities of the district. Having taken LYSIMACHIA and occupied THE WHOLE CHERSONESUS they came down to the HELLESPONT. When the negotiation with Antipater, the prefect of this coast, dragged out longer than they had expected, another new revolt broke out between the chiefs. |
| **Number left:** | ? |
| **Further direction:** | 1) Lonorius with the larger part of the men went back to BYZANTIUM whence he had come;<br>2) Lutarius took from the Macedonians of Antipater two decked ships and three cruisers. Using these as ferry-boats day after day and night after night, within a few days he transported his entire force to ASIA.<br>Only a little later Lonorius, with the aid of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, crossed from BYZANTIUM. Then the Gauls were once more united and aided Nicomedes in the war he was waging against Ziboetas, who held the greater part of Bithynia. And, principally as a result of their assistance, Ziboetas was conquered and all Bithynia acknowledged the sovereignty of Nicomedes.<br>Setting out from Bithynia they made their way into ASIA. |
| **Number:** | Of their 20 000 people [*sic*], not more than 10 000 were armed |
| **Achievements:** | They inspired a terror in all the peoples dwelling on this side of the Taurus |
| **Fate:** | Since there were three tribes, the Tolostobogii, the Trocmi, and the Tectosages, they split up into three divisions, according to the states of Asia which each held as tributaries. To the Trocmi the coast of the Hellespont was assigned; the Tolostobogii received by the lot Aeolis and Ionia, the Tectosages[23] the interior parts of Asia. They (...) established their own dwellings along the river Halys. |

## 3. *Liv.* XXXVIII.16: Information & Problems

3.1. The starting point of the Gauls who invaded Thrace according to Livy was DARDANIA. They left their country under the leadership of Brennus and separated from him only in Dardania after the strife which broke out among them; about 20 000 people (most probably from three different tribes – the Tolostobogii, the Trocmi, and the Tectosages), with Lonorius and Lutarius as their chiefs, seceded from Brennus and TURNED ASIDE INTO THRACE.

[19] E.T. Sage translates here "about twenty thousand men". Accordingly P. Delev (2003, 108) describes this Gallic force as "the 20-thousand strong army of Leonorius and Lutarius". However, as Livy speaks about "homines", not "viri", I would prefer here the translation "people", which accords better with Livy's report further in his text that of these "twenty thousand people, not more than ten thousand were armed" (Livy 38.16.9). I thank my colleague D. Mitov for discussing this issue with me.

[20] Heinen (2006, 423) and Parke (1982, 442) read "Tolistoagii". See however Coşkun 2008, 135: Tolistobogier.

[21] For more information about the Tectosages with literature on the respective discussion see Šašel Kos 2005, 214-17.

[22] E.T. Sage translates "they occupied for a considerable time the coast of the Propontis". However I prefer to translate Livy's "aliquamdiu" as "for some time" (see Oxford Latin Dictionary 1968, 98) in order to keep a more neutral meaning, because we are not really aware of what Livy actually implied. I thank my colleague D. Mitov for discussing this issue with me.

[23] On the territories of these three Galatian tribes in the 1st century BC see Coşkun 2008, 134-35.

3.2. They penetrated as far as Byzantium[24], occupied for some time the coast of the Propontis, holding as tributaries the cities of the district; having taken Lysimachia and occupied the whole Chersonesus they came down to the Hellespont.

3.3. Noteworthy is the report that these Gauls "occupied for some time the coast of the Propontis". It remains unclear what is meant by "for some time" but it seems to be no longer than a year[25].

3.4. Negotiations with a certain ANTIPATER took place; their dragging out caused a new revolt between the Celtic chiefs. A question of primary importance arises: who was this Antipater?[26] According to Livy he was "the prefect of the coast", obviously the coast of the Hellespont. This however is not enough when trying to place this Antipater in the history of the Aegean world because we do not know whose prefect he was, i.e. who was the king, who had appointed Antipater as "a prefect of the coast"? We can be pretty sure that this was a king of Macedonia due to Livy's information that "Lutarius took from the Macedonians of Antipater two decked ships and three cruisers". If this is so, then the event doubtless predates the reconciliation between Antigonus Gonatas and Antiochus I, which is supposed to have taken place either in 278 or in 277 BC[27]. According to this agreement Antiochus I received the territories to the east of the Nestos river (Veligianni 1983, 112). Most probably the crossing of Lutarius' army over Hellespont into Asia postdated Seleucus' assassination[28] by Ptolemy Ceraunus, dated to either September 281 (Walbank et al. 2006, 498) or the spring of 280 BC (Делев 2004, 263). I would even dare to propose that Lutarius' crossing should be dated within the short reign of Ptolemy Ceraunus, because after his death Macedonia practically lost control over the Hellespont.

3.5. As a result of the "revolt" LONORIUS "with the larger part of the men" left the Hellespont and "went back to Byzantium whence he had come". Once again Livy states that the Celts who came to Thrace with Lonorius and Lutarius were connected with the region of Byzantium. Special attention should be paid to the report that Lonorius went back to Byzantium "with the larger part of the men".

3.6. This problem could be connected with a further one – why does Livy speak of three tribes and only of two commanders? A possible solution would be that two of the tribes had a common chief. This could have been Lonorius, who was followed by the larger part of the men. Here one further step seems possible due to some details in Livy's account about the Asian territories held as tributaries by the Celts. The Trocmi come first with the coast of the Hellespont assigned to them. This corresponds to the fact that the first Celtic wave to cross into Asia was led by Lutarius[29], who

[24] Their itinerary through Thrace as far as Byzantium is unknown. According to M. Tacheva (Тачева 1997, 33 and 244) they passed the lands of the Serdi and after that of the Triballi continuing eastwards through the territory between the Danube river and the Haemus Range. P. Delev (2003, 108) describes them crossing "through Aegean Thrace". Neither of these two routes could be so far considered as convincing.

[25] According to Delev (2003, 108) these Celts "pillaged for a whole year the region of the Propontis". My impression from Livy's report is that this period could have been even shorter.

[26] Polyaenus (IV.6.17) mentions a certain Antipater, "against whom the Gauls were engaged [as mercenaries under the command of Ciderius, D.B.] by Antigonus".

[27] The chronology is unfortunately obscure. For 278 BC as the year of the reconciliation between Antigonus Gonatas and Antiochus I see E. Will (2006, 116), F.W. Walbank (2006, 499), Делев (2004, 277, #3). Veligianni (1983, 112 with lit.) accepts 277 BC with a question mark.

[28] Seleucus' army consisted mainly of Greeks and Asians (Paus. I.16.2).

[29] Parke (1982, 442) defines Lutarius "of the Trocmi". It is Lutarius who is recognized in 'the wolf of crooked claws and terrible", which appears in the oracle reported by Zosimus (II.37). Because of this H. W. Parke (1982, 442) wonders if it is "possible that before the historians settled on this form of his name in Greek the popular version was Lykorios?"

crossed to Asia over the Hellespont. Only after that does Livy mention "a lot" and an impression is left that this "lot" affected only two of the tribes (the Tolostobogii who received Aeolis and Ionia, the Tectosages – the interior parts of Asia). Most probably these two tribes were under the command of Lonorius[30] and crossed to Asia "only a little later" via Byzantium.

3.7. There is no secure dating for the events connected with the Celtic forces led by Lonorius and Lutarius. Their arrival in the region of Propontis is dated to 279 BC[31], while their crossing into Asia Minor is placed in 278 BC[32], or "278/7"[33]. In any case, one could insist that their arrival in Southeastern Thrace predates the Celtic defeat in Delphi, as well as that their crossing to Asia Minor predates the arrival of Comontorius' army in "the country near Byzantium"[34].

4. **Justinus (Pompeius Trogus)**[35] XXIV.4.5-6, 6.1-5 and 8.9-16

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | ? |
| **Starting point:** | PANNONIA |
| **Commander:** | Brennus |
| **Destination:** | In the meantime Brennus, under whose command a part of the Gauls had made an irruption into GREECE, having heard of the success of their countrymen, who, under the leadership of Belgius, had defeated the Macedonians, and being indignant that so rich a booty had been so lightly abandoned, assembled an army of a hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, and suddenly invaded MACEDONIA. |
| **Number of the army:** | 150 000 foot & 15 000 horse |
| **Achievements/fate:** | Brennus ravaged the lands throughout the whole of Macedonia. |
| **Number left:** | ? |
| **Further direction:** | DELPHI |
| **Number of the army:** | XXIV.7.9: [at Delphi] Brennus had 65 000 infantry, selected from his whole army. |
| **Achievements:** | |
| **Fate:** | XXIV.8. ... a part of the mountain, broken off by an earthquake, overwhelmed a host of the Gauls, and some of the densest bodies of the enemy were scattered abroad, not without wounds, and fell to the earth. A tempest then followed, which destroyed... those that were suffering from bodily injuries. The general Brennus himself, unable to endure the pain of his wounds, ended his life...<br>Neither was fortune more favourable to those [10 000 wounded] men,<br>who fled [from Delphi]... Of so great an army... not a man was left. |

[30] See however Parke (1982, 442) who speaks of "Leonnorius *(sic)*, the leader of the Tolistoagii *(sic)*". Whatever it should be, one is left to wonder who the leader of the third tribe mentioned by Livy – the Tectosages – was. Parke (1982, 442) further asserts that in the oracle reported by Zosimus (2.37) "the 'mighty lion with crooked claws and terrible, who will disturb the treasures (...) and will seize territory without toil' is Leonnorius. The allegory was partly suggested by his name."

[31] Delev 2003, 108. Obviously N. Theodossiev (2000, 81) advocates an earlier date since according to him "in 279 BC... Komontorios established a tribal state... in the region of Byzantion, where part of Leonorios' and Loutarios' Celts had already settled".

[32] Delev 2003, 108: "presumably"; Parke 1982, 442.

[33] Heinen 2006, 423; Walbank et al. 2006, 499: "278/7 Gaulish invasion of Asia Minor under Lutarius and Leonnorius".

[34] For another opinion see comment 1.5 here above.

[35] English translation by Rev. J.S. Watson.

4. *Justin*. XXIV.4.5-6; 6.1-5; 8.9-16: Information & Problems

4.1. The impression from this report is that Brennus "had made an irruption into Greece" and only after that he "heard of the success of their countrymen" under the leadership of Belgius[36]. Then he "suddenly invaded Macedonia" and ravaged the whole country, which obviously happened only after Brennus' initial irruption into Greece.

4.2. Brennus fought against the Delphians with 65 000 infantry, selected from his whole army. This most probably implies the number of the Celts who – after Thermopylae – continued against Delphi[37]. However the number given here contradicts Pausanias' information about "a detachment of 40 000" with which Brennus marched against Delphi.

4.3. The statement that "not a man was left" of the Brennus' great army contradicts at first glance both *Justin* XXXII.3 (about the origin of the Scordisci) and *Polybius* IV.45.9 (about Comontorius and his "escaping from the disaster at Delphi"). A possible solution would be to search for Comontorius either among the Celts who invaded Aetolia under the command of Orestorius and Combutis, or among "the main army" left at the Thermopylae with Acichorius in charge.

5. **Justinus (Pompeius Trogus)** XXV.1-3

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | AFTER peace was made between the two kings, Antigonus and Antiochus[38], a new enemy suddenly started up against Antigonus as he was returning to Macedonia. |
| **Starting point:** | THE BORDERS OF THE GAULS' COUNTRY |
| **Commander:** | ?: Gauls, who had been left behind by their general Brennus, when he marched into Greece, to defend the borders of their country |
| **Destination:** | Having routed the forces of the Getae and Triballi *(sic)* and preparing to invade Macedonia, they sent ambassadors to Antigonus to offer him peace in his camp. Antigonus had also ordered his ships laden with stores to be displayed. |
| **Number of the army:** | 15 000 foot and 3 000 horse |
| **Achievements/fate:** | The Gauls took possession of THE KING'S camp; they reached the coast; they were cut down by the sailors; slaughter among the Gauls; peace with Antigonus. |
| **Number left:** | ? |
| **Further direction:** | The Gauls filled all ASIA as with one swarm |
| **Number of the army:** | ? |
| **Fate:** | Being called by the king of Bithynia to his aid, and having gained him the victory over his enemies, they shared his kingdom with him, and called their part of it Gallograecia. |
| | During these transactions in Asia, Pyrrhus, having been defeated by the Carthaginians in a sea-fight on the coast of Sicily[39], sent ambassadors to Antigonus king of Macedonia, to ask for a supply of troops. |

[36] Belgius' victory over Ptolemy Ceraunus and the latter's death are dated either to February 279 B.C. (Heinen 1972, 94) or "between January 25th and February 24th 279" (Nachtergael 1977, 174). Delev (2004, 273) disagrees with such an early dating. According to him the great Celtic invasion started only in the spring or in the summer of the same 279 BC, thus connecting Ceraunus' death either with the spring or with the summer 279 BC but certainly not with the winter in early 279 BC.

[37] See testimony #7 (2) here below.

[38] In 278 or 277 BC (on the chronology see footnote 27 above).

[39] According to P.R. Franke (Franke 2006, 481) as Pyrrhus sailed northwards along the Sicilian coast "in the late summer of 276", "he was surprised by a Punic fleet not far from Rhegium and suffered heavy losses".

5. *Justin.* XXV.1-3: Information & Problems

5.1. This evidence gives relative dating to some of the events, connected with the Celtic invasion in Thrace. The start is synchronized with the time immediately following the reconciliation between Antigonus Gonatas and Antiochus in 278 or 277 BC[40]. The crossing of the Celts into Asia and their transactions in Asia are synchronized with the Carthaginians' victory over Pyrrhus in a sea-fight on the coast of Sicily which is dated to the late summer of 276 BC.

5.2. It is not exactly clear what is meant by "the borders of their (i.e. the Gauls') country". Most probably it refers to Pannonia if we take into consideration the report in *Justin.* XXIV.4 that the Gauls "fixed their abode in Pannonia" [41].

5.3. The most problematic part of this evidence is the sequence in which the itinerary of the Gauls is given – they had "routed the forces of the Getae and Triballi *(sic)*" and were "preparing to invade Macedonia". Without even discussing the case, very often modern scholarship changes the places of the two Thracian ethnonyms, speaking about Gauls defeating "the Triballi and the Getae"[42] thus following a route from west to east. However, the internal logic of this evidence would be correct if the sequence given by Pompeius Trogus follows a north – south direction. It is well known that according to Arrian, who used Alexander's *ephemerides*, after meeting the Triballi in 335 BC Alexander the Great crossed the Danube proceeding northwards and defeated the Getae. If we transfer this information to the evidence under discussion here it could be possible to think that it refers to the route taken by the Gauls starting from Pannonia, then defeating the Getae north of the Danube River, then the Triballi living to the south of the Danube[43]. If this "reading" is correct, it would mean that the Gauls were somewhere in the region of Western Thrace when "preparing to invade Macedonia". Bearing in mind the territorial agreement between Antiochus I and Antigonus Gonatas[44], I incline to connect this report with the territory to the west of the Nestos River.

5.4. Unfortunately we are informed neither by Pompeius Trogus, nor by Justinus, where Antigonus' camp was situated and respectively – where Antigonus' victory and the "slaughter among the Gauls" took place. Obviously however, it was close to a coast with a harbour where "ships laden with stores" could be "displayed". Traditionally it is accepted that it happened near Lysimachia[45] because of *Diogenes Laertius* (2.141), who refers to a victory by Antigonus over cer-

[40] Theodossiev (2005, 86) dates this Celtic invasion to 279 BC, while Delev (2003, 108) dates the campaign to "278 or 277 BC".

[41] Despite Callimachus' fr. 379 reporting that Brennus invaded Greece "from the West Sea" (Petzl 1984, 144). For more details on Pannonia in connection with this issue see Šašel Kos (2005, 136-37) and Домарадски (1984, 74).

[42] Theodossiev 2005, 86: "those Gauls... defeated the Triballi and the Getae" (see also Theodossiev 2000, 81); Delev 2003, 108: "a new large Celtic army set out on a major predatory campaign through the lands of the Triballi and Getae" (see also Делев 2004, 275). Tacheva (Тачева 1997, 33) also follows the Gaulish victories against the Triballi and after that against the Getae. So far she is alone in her idea that "the information provided by Titus Livius and Pompeius Trogus on the Celts' battles with Antiochus I and Antigonus Gonatas complement each other and that there is no reason to claim that there had been two Celtic campaigns against Lysimachia and Asia Minor" (Тачева 1997, 31-33 and 244; for a criticism of this idea see Delev 2003, 107, n. 2). Danov 1979, 48 also inserts that "eine andere Keltenschar ... scheint ... gegen die Triballer und die Geten eine Zeitlang Kämpfen geführt zu haben..."

[43] This is supported by Appian (*Illyr*. 3) who "claimed that the Scordisci and Triballi destroyed each other in mutual wars to such an extent that those of the Triballi who survived, fled across the Ister [i.e. the Danube, D.B.] to the Getae" (Šašel Kos 2005, 162-63; Theodossiev 2005, 87).

[44] See comment 3.4 here above with literature and footnote 27.

[45] So far this reconstruction has been uniformly accepted and no one has ever questioned the place of Antigonus' victory over the Gauls, reported by Justinus in XXV.1-3.

tain "barbarians" near Lysimachia[46]. In my opinion such a connection between these two testimonies is far from evident and I would prefer not to take it for granted. One should not forget that Lysimachia was often also attacked by the neighbouring Thracians[47] who are labeled as barbarians in some of the Hellenistic and Roman writings.

5.5. Despite the obvious lack of needed testimonies, in my opinion there are some details that could direct the search for a different area to locate the Antigonus' victory over the Gauls as reported by Justinus. Very indicative here is what has come down to us from Trogus' history even if only fragmentarily (Trog. *prol.* 25): His now missing report on "how Antigonus destroyed the Gauls"[48] is followed by the missing description of "the war which he [Antigonus, D.B.] fought with Apollodorus, the tyrant of CASSANDREA", and "how the Gauls entered Asia and waged war with King Antiochus and Bithynia: where they occupied regions of Tylenus"[49]. It could hardly be pure chance that according to Pompeius Trogus, Antigonus Gonatas was in the region of Cassandrea, i.e. in the West, after he had destroyed the Galatians, who had "routed the forces of the Getae and Triballi" and were "preparing to invade Macedonia" obviously from somewhere in western Thrace.

5.6. Thus, in my opinion, Trogus' evidence not only supports my conjecture that these Galatians must have reached Macedonia from western Thrace but even helps to define the territory where the "king's camp" with the nearby harbour, i.e. the location of the clash, should be sought. This region is limited by Nestos to the east and by Axios to the west. The region in question provides an epigraphic document – a decree from Gazoros (in the Lower Strymon valley), – which testifies to a military threat and need for grain in two successive years – 278/7 and 277/6 (Veligianni 1983, 111-112). I am very much inclined to connect the situation presented in the decree from Gazoros with the route of the Gauls before their clash with Antigonus Gonatas. The question is if the two successive years of military threat and need for grain were caused by just one Celtic "wave" in the region or by two separate waves[50].

5.7. The further direction and the fate of this Celtic force after the defeat inflicted by Antigonus remains ambiguous because of the way Justinus introduces his report on Gauls in Asia (XXV.2). It starts more like general information than like a logical continuation of the clash between Antigonus Gonatas and the Celts. Hence it is possible to accept that these Gauls, like those under the leadership of Lutarius and Lonorius[51], went to Asia Minor. But obviously the rest of the report in the respective chapter refers to the Gauls in general, including those of the two chiefs just mentioned, who aided the Bithynian king Nicomedes in the war against Ziboetas.

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[46] Diog. Laert. II.141-142: "Antigonus too was much attached to him [to Menedemus, D.B.] and used to proclaim himself his pupil. And when he vanquished the barbarians near the town of Lysimachia, Menedemus moved a decree in his honour in simple terms and free from flattery, beginning thus: "On the motion of the generals and the councilors - - Whereas King Antigonus is returning to his own country after vanquishing the barbarians in battle, and whereas in all his undertakings he prospers according to his will, the senate and the people have decreed..." (English translation by R. D. Hicks).

[47] For an example see Livy XXXIII.38.10-12 and the analysis of Grainger (1996, 331).

[48] English translation of Trogus' *Prologi* by Roger Pearse.

[49] In my opinion the text here is obscure and one cannot be sure that "regions of Tylenus" were originally connected by Trogus with Bithynia. However going into further speculations with regard to this issue is certainly not advisable due to lack of information. The name of Tylenus is not discussed by Smith (1857, 1246), neither do we find it separately in the RE. Oberhummer (1948) makes a reference to it (without any comment) in his article on "Tyle oder Tylis".

[50] According to Домарадски (1984, 80-81) the armies both of Lonorius and Lutarius and of Comontorius reached Byzantium following the route of the future *via Egnatia*.

[51] See testimony #3 here above.

6. **Pausanias**[52] X.19.5-6

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | ? |
| **Commander:** | "The Celts conducted their first expedition under the leadership of Cambaules" |
| **Number of the army:** | "They realized that they were too few in number to be match for the Greeks" |
| **Destination:** | Advanced as far as THRACE |
| **Achievements:** | They lost heart and broke off their march |
| **Number of the army:** | When they decided to invade foreign territory for a second time, under the influence of Cambaules' veterans a large force of infantry and no small number of mounted men attended the muster |

6. *Paus.* X.19.5-6: Information & Problems

6.1. The first Celtic expedition was led by Cambaules and it "advanced as far as Thrace". This important information is given by Pausanias with neither chronological nor territorial specification. Thus we are left to wonder when exactly did it happen and how far did this expedition come. Different possibilities have been argued to date: Cambaules' expedition could be connected with the reported victory of Cassander over the Galatae "in Haemus" (Seneca *nat. quaest.* III.11.3, who quotes Theophrastus; Plin. *n. h.* XXXI.53) with a disputed dating of ca. 310 or ca. 298 BC (Theodossiev 2005, 85-86 with lit.). Another opinion connects this expedition with "the rapidly developing situation after the death of Lysimachus as a first stage of the "*great Celtic invasion"*, preceding more or less immediately the triple incursion into Thrace, Paeonia and Macedonia in 279 BC" (Delev 2003, 107-08)[53].

6.2. Probably helpful in searching for a correct interpretation is Pausanias' report of "the great influence of those who participated in Cambaules' march[54]" for the undertaking and organization of the second Galatian expedition. There are at least two possible ways of interpreting this information. It could refer on the one hand to those who had served under Cambaules and were still active while the second expedition was in preparation. If this were the case, then Cambaules' expedition could have predated the second one by not more than ten to fifteen years but the length of time between the two of them could have been just a year or two. On the other hand, if "those who participated in Cambaules' march" were not militarily active at the time of the second expedition, then Cambaules' undertaking must have predated the second one by about twenty years. The question here is whether Pausanias' phrasing could indicate such nuances of meaning.

7. **Pausanias** X.19.6-7

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | When they decided to invade foreign territory a second time |
| **Commander:** | The army was split up into three divisions by the chieftains, to each of whom was assigned a separate land to invade |
| **Number of the army:** | Under the influence of Cambaules' veterans a large force of infantry and no small number of mounted men attended the muster |
| **Destination:** | 1) Cerethrius was to be leader against the THRACIANS and the nation of the TRIBALLI.<br>2) Brennus and Acichorius – had command over the invaders of PAEONIA *(sic)*. |

[52] English translation by W.H.S. Jones.

[53] Домарадски (1984, 74) dates Cambaules' march firmly to 281 BC.

[54] W.H.S. Jones translates the Greek word "ekstrateúsantes" used by Pausanias here as "veterans"; thus his translation reads "the influence of Cambaules' veterans", which actually predetermines the interpretation.

3) Bolgius attacked the MACEDONIANS and ILLYRIANS.

7. *Paus.* X.19.6-7*:* Information & Problems

7.1. Modern scholarship, referring to Pausanias, uniformly insists on a Celtic expedition in Thrace led by Cerethrius[55]. However, it seems highly significant that Pausanias goes into detail about the expeditions of both Bolgius and Brennus, while he never mentions any further word about Cerethrius. This leaves the impression, that for some reason it was not Cerethrius who led the expedition against Thrace, or that he led an expedition in another direction[56]. Such an impression finds support in the grammar of Pausanias' text[57]: when speaking about Cerethrius the ancient author implies intention, while when speaking about Bolgius he uses the aorist. Also very indicative is the text about Brennus and Acichorius, who according to Pausanias were supposed to command the expedition against Paeonia – here Pausanias uses the imperfect obviously because Brennus and Acichorius started their march towards Paeonia, but they actually attacked Macedonia and after that Greece.

7.2. According to the initial assignment, Brennus was supposed to invade Paeonia. When it came out that the victorious Bolgius' army "lacked courage to advance against Greece", "Brennus strongly urged a campaign against Greece". It seems quite acceptable that at this point we could enrich Pausanias' report with the information given by Livy that on his way southwards Brennus came down to Dardania, where a strife broke out among the Celts and about 20 000 men, with Lonorius and Lutarius as their chiefs, seceded from Brennus and turned aside into Thrace[58]. It seems very likely that the strife which flared up in Dardania was caused by the different views on further Celtic military activity at a moment when Brennus was urging a campaign against Greece despite the initial direction towards Paeonia.

7 (1). **Pausanias** X.19. 7

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | |
| **Commander:** | Bolgius |
| **Number of the army** | ? |
| **Destination:** | MACEDONIA and ILLYRIA |
| **Achievements:** | Bolgius attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians, and engaged in a struggle with Ptolemy the Thunderbolt, king of the Macedonians at that time; Macedonian losses were heavy |
| **Number left:** | |
| **Further direction:** | "The second expedition returned home" |
| **Achievements:** | Lacked courage to advance against Greece |

[55] Šašel Kos 2005, 162: "[In ca. 280 BC] the Celts divided their army into three sections, of which one was led by Cerethrius against the Thracians and the nation of the Triballi, one by Brennus and Acichorius against Paeonia, and the third by Bolgius against the Macedonians and Illyrians". Delev 2003, 108: "the army of Ceretrius invaded Thrace through the lands of the Triballi and ravaged the country". Danov 1979, 48: "Eine andere Keltenschar... die sich unter der Führung des Kerethrius befand, scheint sogar bereits i. J. 280 v. Chr. nach Thrakien vorgedrungen zu sein...". See also Walbank 1957, 498.

[56] See M. Tacheva's explicit comment that Pausanias is reporting about Cerethrius' plan to march towards Thrace but not about the fulfillment of this plan (Тачева 1997, 33). Although not discussing the issue, N. Theodossiev (2000, 81) also correctly refers to this aspect of the report: "... the Gauls led by Cerethrius *prepared* themselves to fight against the Triballoi and the remaining Thracians..."

[57] I am much obliged to my colleague D. Mitov for discussing with me the grammatical aspect of this issue.

[58] See testimony #3 here above.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Fate:** | Returned home |

7 (1). *Paus.* X.19.7: Information & Problems

7 (1).1. Very indicative is the information that Bolgius attacked "Macedonia and Illyria". It could be connected with the fact that precisely at this time king Pyrrhus of Epirus engaged himself in Italy and "appointed Ptolemy the Thunderbolt guardian of his kingdom in his absence" (*Justin.* 17.2.15; 24.1.8)[59]. This would explain why we find Ptolemy engaged in the region, neighbouring Illyria, not Thrace[60]. In my opinion this is an important detail which has been underestimated in the modern literature. Despite the lack of further information we can locate the battle in which Ptolemy Ceraunus was defeated by Bolgius in the western parts of Macedonia.

7 (1).2. It is also noteworthy that according to Pausanias the second Celtic expedition in foreign territories ended when Bolgius "returned home".

7 (2). **Pausanias**[61] X.19-23

| | |
|---|---|
| **Year:** | X.23.14: The expedition of the Celts against Greece, and their destruction, took place when Anaxicrates was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad [279/278 BC], when Ladas of Aegium was victor in the footrace. In the following year, when Democles was archon at Athens, the Celts crossed AGAIN to Asia [278/277 BC]. |
| **Commander:** | Brennus and Acichorius |
| **Number of the army:** | Foot 152 000 and horse 20 400 (number of horsemen in action at any one time, but the real number was 61 200, for to each horseman were attached two servants, who were skilled riders and had a horse) |
| **Destination:** | Greece / Thermopylae |
| **Achievements:** | The spirit of the Greeks was utterly broken. They still remembered the fate of MACEDONIA, THRACE and PAEONIA during the former incursion of the Gauls ... |
| **Number left:** | X.21.4-7: In the battle at the THERMOPYLAE – "their loss in the retreat was no less than the loss that occurred while the battle raged"; "The losses of the barbarians it was impossible to discover exactly. For the number of them that disappeared beneath the mud was great" |
| **Further direction:** | 1) Greece / Aetolia<br>2) Greece / Delphi |
| **Achievements:** | 1) X.22.2-3: Brennus detached from his army 40 000 foot and about 800 horse. Over these he set in command Orestorius and Combutis to invade AETOLIA.<br>2) X.22.10-12: Leaving Acichorius behind in charge of the main army, with instructions that it was to attack only when the enveloping movement was complete, Brennus himself, with a detachment of 40 000, began his march along the pass. ...<br>Brennus, without delaying any longer, began his march against Delphi without waiting for the army under Acichorius to catch up. |
| **Fate:** | 1) X.22.13: The flower of the Aetolians turned against the army of Acichorius, and without offering battle attacked continuously the rear of their line of march, plundering the baggage and putting the carriers to the sword. It was chiefly for |

[59] See however *Justin.* 18.1.3 with the report that Pyrrhus appointed as guardian of Epirus his eldest son Ptolemy.

[60] For a different opinion see Danov (1979, 47): "Gegen die in Thrakien eingefallen Kelten kämpfend fand Ptolemaios Keraunos seinem Tod (279 v. Chr.)".

[61] Concerning the source of Pausanias' account of the Gallic attack against the sanctuary of Delphi two possibilities have been argued – Hieronymus of Cardia and Timaeus of Tauromenium (Nachtergael 1977, 27-49; Champion 1995, 215, #10; Šašel Kos 2005, 138).

this reason that their march proved slow. Futhermore, at Heracleia Acichorius had left a part of his army, who were to guard the baggage of the camp.

2) X.23.6-8: when Brennus himself was wounded, he was carried fainting from the battle, and the Gauls, harassed by the Greeks, fell back reluctantly, putting to the sword those who, due to wounds or sickness, could not go with them. A great mutual slaughter was caused by the madness sent by the god.

X.23.10: in Phocis they lost close on 6 000 (killed in the battles); over 10 000 (perished in the wintry storm at night and afterwards in the panic and terror), the same amount starved to death.

X.23.12: Those who fled with Brennus had been joined by the army under Acichorius only on the previous night. For the Aetolians had delayed their march. There was still a hope of saving the life of Brennus, nonetheless he took his own life by drinking neat wine.

X.23.13: During Gauls' retreat the Thessalians and Malians kept lying in wait for them, and so took their fill of slaughter so that not a Gaul returned home in safety.

7 (2). *Paus.* X.19-23: Information & Problems

7 (2).1. Very indicative is the report, that during Brennus' attack on Thermopylae the Greeks "still remembered the fate of Macedonia, Thrace and Paeonia during the former incursion of the Gauls". It states explicitly that we have to date one of the Celtic attacks against Thrace prior to the one against Greece. The question is whether the territories are given here in chronological order of their devastation, or not. I incline to see them chronologically enumerated, since they are doubtlessly not arranged in a geographical order. Of course, we also have to consider the possibility that they are listed without any internal logic.

7 (2).2. Also noteworthy is the detail, that when speaking about Celts crossing to Asia in 278/277 BC, Pausanias refers to it as "crossing AGAIN to Asia". So far it is impossible to explain what he meant but we have to be aware of this fact. Together with Polybius' hint concerning Comontorius and his Celts that "instead of crossing to Asia they remained on the spot, as they took fancy to the country near Byzantium"[62], this information from Pausanias seems to imply that there were at least two Celtic crossings into Asia.

7 (2).3. In Greece Brennus divided his army into three detachments: 1) he detached from his army 40 000 foot and about 800 horse to invade AETOLIA under the command of Orestorius and Combutis; 2) he left Acichorius at THERMOPYLAE in charge of the main army; 3) Brennus himself, with a detachment of 40 000, began his march along the pass towards DELPHI. It remains unclear if the statement that "not a Gaul returned home in safety" refers only to the third detachment or to the second as well.

* * *

To summarize:

The ancient sources give information about four different "waves" of Celtic activity in Thrace at the end of the 4th and during the first quarter of the 3rd century BC[63].

The first one is reported by Pausanias according to whom "the Celts conducted their first foreign expedition under the leadership of Cambaules", whose army "advanced as far as Thrace".

[62] See testimony #1 here above.

[63] See Grainger (1996, 334) about the Celtic groups who were still on the move for decades in the Thracian area. The Aegosages crossed the Hellespont in the 220s, to take service with Attalus II and he settled them in the Troad in 218. They were destroyed by Prusias of Bithynia.

There the Gauls "broke off their march, realizing that they were too few in number to be a match for the Greeks". Its dating remains so far uncertain.

The second "wave" was part of the Celtic activity which started in either 280 or 279 BC. Despite some modern hesitations Cerethrius did not have the chance to lead Celtic forces against Thrace. At the beginning of this second campaign he was chosen "to be leader against the Thracians and the nation of the Triballi" but for some reason it did not happen and Pausanias leaves us ignorant about his fate. It is also pretty certain that the Celtic army led by Bolgius/Belgius did not enter Thracian lands because it "attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians", i.e. the invaded regions were in western Macedonia neighbouring Illyria. According to Pausanias the muster which began the second Celtic campaign, expected Brennus and Acichorius to have "the command over the invaders of Paeonia". Obviously this itinerary brought them to Dardania, where strife broke out resulting in the secession of about 20 000 people of three tribes (Trocmi, Tolostobogii and Tectosages) with Lonorius and Lutarius as their chiefs, who turned aside into Thrace. They were the first Celtic "wave" to penetrate deep into the Thracian lands, arriving in their south-eastern region.

In either 280 or 279 BC under the leadership of Lonorius and Lutarius these 20 000 Celts reached Byzantium, contending against those who resisted and imposing tribute upon those who sought peace. Their itinerary towards Byzantium remains totally obscure. They occupied for some time (several months but hardly longer than a year) the coast of the Propontis, holding as tributaries the cities of the district. Then the desire to cross into Asia seized them, as they heard from their neighbours how rich this land was. Having taken Lysimachia and occupied the whole Chersonesus they came down to the Hellespont. There, seeing Asia separated from them by a narrow strait, they sent messengers to Antipater, the prefect of the coast (so far the Macedonian king who had appointed him "prefect" remains unknown), regarding the crossing. During the negotiations a new revolt broke out between the chiefs. Lonorius with the larger part of the men went back to Byzantium whence he had come. Lutarius, using two decked ships and three cruisers (which he had taken from Antipater's Macedonians) day and night, transported his entire force across the Hellespont into Asia within a few days. Only a little later Lonorius, with the aid of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, crossed from Byzantium. Then the Gauls of Lonorius and Lutarius were again united and aided Nicomedes in the war he was waging against Ziboetas. Lutarius' crossing into Asia over the Hellespont is datable within the short reign of Ptolemy Ceraunus.

Not long after the crossing of Lutarius and Lonorius into Asia, the Hellespont was reached by the Celts of Comontorius, who escaped from the disaster at Delphi. In 278 BC, instead of crossing into Asia, they remained on the spot, as they took a fancy to the country near Byzantium. Here they conquered the Thracians, established their 'basileion' at Tylis and placed the Byzantines in extreme danger. This was how the third "wave" of Celtic activity in Thrace started and it was the only one to be connected explicitly with the history of Tylis by the ancient testimonies. The Celtic itinerary from Delphi towards the Hellespont remains totally obscure, but a route along the Aegean coast seems quite plausible. During the initial inroads of Comontorius the Byzantines continued to pay on each occasion three thousand, five thousand, and sometimes even ten thousand gold pieces to save their territory from being laid waste. This report by Polybius suggests that Comontorius was active in the very close vicinity of Byzantium, i.e. "in the country near Byzantium" as said by the ancient historian himself, which could be possible only if his basileion Tylis was also located there.

The fourth wave closely postdates the reconciliation between Antigonus Gonatas and Antiochus I in 278 or 277 BC. The Gauls, who had been left behind by their general Brennus to

defend the borders of their country, armed fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse (that they alone might not seem idle). Having routed the forces of the Getae (obviously to the north of the Danube) and Triballi (to the south of the river), and preparing to invade Macedonia (obviously from somewhere in Western Thrace), they sent ambassadors to Antigonus to offer him peace if he would pay for it. Being tempted by the richness demonstrated by the Macedonian king, the Gauls attacked Antigonus' camp by night. They took possession of the camp and, carrying off what they found, directed their course towards the coast where they were cut down by the sailors. The Gauls were defeated and the report of this victory procured peace for Antigonus both from the Gauls and from his other barbarous neighbours. These Celts went to Asia following an itinerary which remains so far unclear.

Despite the common opinion that the battle between the Gauls and Antigonus Gonatas took place near Lysimachia, there are serious grounds in my opinion to assert that it happened in the coastal region between Lower Nestos and Lower Axios. If my conjecture is correct, it would mean that this section of the Aegean coast was invaded twice by Celtic forces – first, in 278/7 BC, by the Celts of Comontorius on their way from Delphi towards the Hellespont and a year later by the Celts who "routed the forces of the Getae and Triballi" but were defeated by Antigonus Gonatas. This would explain the two successive years (278/7 and 277/6) of military threat and need for grain attested by the decree of Gazoros for the Lower Strymon valley.

It is unquestionable that there could have been other events, connected with the Celtic activity in Thrace, which remained unreported in the ancient literary tradition. At this point it is archaeology that could help us create a more detailed picture of this eventful 3rd century BC. Much anticipated are the archaeological studies in the region between Byzantium and Hellespont where Polybius locates the "basileion" of Tylis. Its history is connected explicitly in ancient literary tradition solely with the Celtic forces led by Comontorius.

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# Celts, Greeks and Thracians in Thrace during the Third Century BC. Interactions in History and Culture

Kamen Dimitrov

The Celtic presence in Thrace during the 3rd c. BC left an impact through various structures and in several aspects of the historical development of the area. It affected the local communities regardless of their ethnic and social nature, Thracian or Greek. The general result has always been a matter of controversial estimations, the information in the written evidence being relatively restricted. The basic theories can be briefly summarized. Some scholars defended a view of a decisive, totally destructive consequences of the so-called Great invasion of 281/0-277 BC. They stressed the lack of coin hoards and rich burials in Thrace after the invasion, which separated the Thracian North from the South, disturbed the flourishing trade relations and in fact interrupted for some time the development of Hellenism in Thrace (Венедиков 1955; Михайлов 1955, 154-60; Михайлов 1972, 276; Mihailov 1961, 42-43; Геров 1967, 33). Others believed in the unconditional territorial and political domination of the Celtic Kingdom of Tylis, which reached Noviodunum and Tyras, absorbed the Kingdom of the Getae north of Haemus and imposed a tribute to some West-Pontic cities (Schmidt 1888, 110; Кацаров 1919, 66-69; Lazarov 1993, 9-12; Лазаров 2003a, 17; Лазаров 2003c, 45-46). It was equally accepted that the Celts ruled over some Thracian tribes for a period of 60 years (Димитров 1957, 63). Danov considered the Celtic Kingdom to be of "decisive importance in maintaining the balance in the Balkan lands" and to have had a strong political impact on the cities south of Haemus such as Apollonia and Mesambria and even some influence north of the Haemus mountain. At the same time he found the Kingdom of Tylis "weak and ill-organized" at least during the war between Byzantion and an alliance of Kallatis and Istros ca. 260 BC (Данов 1939, 215-16). Later Danov concluded that the "Anhänger der keltischen Theorie... dem... unbeständigen Keltenreich in Thrakien übergrosse Bedeutung beimassen" (Danov 1976, 369 Bem. 5, 376) and that "the impoverishment of Thrace's material culture was by no means absolute, and if it occurred at all, it was due not so much to the Celtic invasion and dominance as to the Macedonian rule which preceded it" (Danov 1975/6, 32). The Celtic influence on Western Thrace and North of Haemus was disputed by Gerov (Геров 1967, 33) as well. The Kingdom of Tylis was also regarded as one of the numerous states in Thrace (Фол 1975, 192-94). Another scholar in no way agreed with "the great role" of the Celts in the political and economical fall of Thrace during the 3rd c. BC either (Тачева 1987, 32-33). In his monograph M. Domaradski was equally sceptical about the existence of a strong Celtic Kingdom in Thrace, although he recognized that the Celts controlled the economic relations of Thrace with the Aegean world and played a role in political life in Southeast Thrace. Thoroughly studying the finds of La Tène material from the Balkans, Domaradski concluded that the Celts were not only invaders and pillagers. Some of them settled among the local tribes, enriching their culture with new elements. The relations with cities in Thrace such as Kabyle, a polis of the Greek type, could be hostile or peaceful as well (Домарадски 1984, 87-88, 152-155). Concerning the archeological La Tène evidence it was stated that "...il est difficile d'établir la présence des Celtes, ayant pu s'installer dans les Balkans par petits groups après 279. Un tel cas pourrait être celui du royaume fantôme de Tylis...ces enclaves se sont rapidement

fondues dans leurs nouveau milieu, voir même hellénisées, en perdant leurs identité culturelle" (Popović 1991, 344).

A fair estimation of the role of the Celts in Thrace requires the available historical and archaeological evidence for hostile or peaceful relations with other communities to be reviewed in three main groups:

1. Evidence of the invasions up to the battle of Lysimacheia in 277 BC.
2. Evidence for the Skordiskoi in the Danubian areas of the Balkans and in parts of northwest Thrace.
3. Evidence for the Kingdom of Tylis.

The earliest attack by Celts on a Balkan tribe, the Illyri, occurred in 360-358 BC (Домарадски 1984, 69). In 335 BC Alexander the Great met Celtic envoys on the banks of the Danube, "...calling them friends and making them allies..." (Arrianus, Anabasis I.4; ИТМ, 303; ХТ, 184-85). Ca. 310 the Autariatae were defeated in Illyria probably by the Celts. The remnants of them were expelled to Macedonia and were settled by Kassandros near the Orbelos mountain (Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica XX.19.1; ХТ, 127). Two huge coin hoards – IGCH ##410 from Skopje and 411 from Rejantsi, in the district of Pernik, are probably witnesses to this operation (Dimitrov 1989, 132-33). In 298 Kassandros clashed with a Celtic tribe somewhere in the Haemus (Plinius, Naturalis historia XXX.30.53; Seneca, Quaestiones naturales III.11.3; Домарадски 1984, 167-68). According to a recent suggestion, the royal house of Seuthopolis was involved in this campaign as an ally of Kassandros because the abundant bronze coins of that ruler found in Seuthopolis are to be connected with the presence of Macedonian troops there (Nankov 2009, 273-74). This theory is yet to be confirmed. There are no archaeological remains, corresponding to a "temporary residence for both Thracians and Macedonians" (a military camp?) preceding the city and the luxurious insulae of Seuthopolis fit much better to the living standard of local aristocracy. The coins in question are of bronze and their presence in the city is rather a result of trade with Pistiros as is the rich amphora material from Thasos (most recently Dimitrov 2009, 282).

The Great Celtic invasion took place in 281/0-277 BC. The main sources (Polybius, Historia universalis IV.45-52; VIII.22 = ХТ, 66-70, 72; Pausanias, Descriptio Graeciae I.4.1-6; X.19.5-12 = ХТ, 218-19, 237-38; M. Iunianus Iustinus, Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi epitoma XXIV.4-8; XXV.1-2; Appianus, Illyrica 8-14; ИТМ, 247-51, 325) and the events have been discussed several times (last Delev 2003, 107-08; see also above). Commenting on the sources M. Tacheva (Тачева 1987, 29-31) accepted that Polybius is the most reliable author and insisted on a single Celtic raid in Thrace, associated in the written sources with different chiefs. This seemed implausible to Delev (2003, 107 note 3) who supported the traditional view of several stages in the invasion, although not clearly distinguishable from one another.

In 281 BC or even earlier the Celts of Kambaules invaded Thrace soon to abandon the campaign. A triple incursion in Thrace, Macedonia and Paeonia took place in 279 BC, the army of Keretrios penetrating into Thrace through the lands of the Triballi (Pausanias, Descriptio Graeciae X.19.5, 7; ХТ, 237). Later in the same year Leonorios and Lutarios led a 20000-strong splinter of the horde of Brennos which was defeated near Delphi after plundering the area. They crossed through Aegean Thrace, took Lysimacheia and pillaged the Propontic area for a year before invading Asia Minor (Titus Livius, Ab urbe condita XXXVIII.16.1-9; Memnon, De Heracleae Fr. 11 = Photius, Bibliotheca, Cod. 224, p. 227b). Another group of Brennos's army led by Komontorios remained in the vicinity of Byzantion, then "overcame the Thracians and established a royal residence

FIGURE 1. Silver tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas with head of Pan and Athena (= Price 1974, Plate XII.70).

FIGURE 2. Bronze coin of Antigonos Gonatas with head of Athena and Pan erecting a trophy (= Price 1974, Plate XII.71).

at Tylis". Komontorios became the first king of the new Kingdom (Polybius, Historia universalis IV.46.1-3 = XT, 67). In 278 or 277 BC a new Celtic wave defeated the Triballi and the Getae to reach Lysimacheia only to be annihilated there by Antigonos II (M. Iunianus Iustinus, Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi epitoma XXV.1-2; ИТМ, 250-51; Diogenes Laertius, De clarorum philosophorum vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus 2. 141).

The Great invasion was stopped finally near Lysimacheia by Antigonos II Gonatas, at the time a king without kingdom, from 280/79 BC "based upon the Thracian coast" (Mathisen 1981, 101-102). Confronting the Celts in 277 BC he could well have gained support from coastal cities and local dynasts as Skostokos, the ruler of Kabyle is believed to have done (Манов 1999, 32-33, see also his paper in this volume), although the coin hoard IGCH #869 from Plovdiv of silver tetradrachms of Skostokos and Gonatas was buried ca 272 BC (Dimitrov 1984) and cannot be evidence that a similar alliance existed at the time of the invasion.

The victories over the Celts inspired Greek mythology and enriched it in some new aspects related to the Macedonian royal house and Rome. The propaganda attributed the defeat of Brennos near Delphi to the interference of Apollo, who annihilated the invaders by earthquake and plague and to Artemis and Athena, who appeared as armed maidens on the battlefield. The epiphany of Pan at the battle of Lysimacheia struck panic among the Celts (M. Iunianus Iustinus, Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi epitoma XXIV.8; Appianus Illyrica, 8-14; ИТМ, 250-51, 325; Diogenes Laertius, De clarorum philosophorum vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus 2. 141-142). Antigonos "capitalized on this and identified himself closely with Pan, who, as it were, became his patron deity". The prestige of this victory resulted in the election of Gonatas as the new king of the Macedonians (Merker 1960, 50). Undoubtedly his credentials looked more impressive founded on religious speculations. They left a characteristic impact on the coin iconography of Gonatas's coinage. A Macedonian shield decorated with the head of Antigonos as a young Pan is represented on the obverse of the King's silver tetradrachms. Athena Alkidemos, the city-goddess of Pella and one of the divinities said to have pushed back the Celts near Delphi, is depicted on the reverse (Merker 1960, 39, 50). The bronze issues of Gonatas bear the head of Athena on the obverse, and Pan erecting a trophy on the reverse (**figs. 1, 2**). After the Celtic defeat near Delphi Apollo became a pan-Mediterranean "defender of civilization against barbarism". The idea found followers even in Italy where Roman didrachms with the head of Apollo were minted ca 270 BC to recall the earlier Roman victories over the Celts and to represent Rome "as a friend and defender of the Greek poleis of Magna Graecia" in the Pyrrhic war (Crawford 1985, 30-31.7).

The general information for the sack and pillage of large areas should be complemented by evidence of damage by and threat from the Celts to particular communities and cities. Some Thracians were driven out from the vicinity of Byzantion before the new Kingdom of Tylis was founded. However, there is no data at all for other tribes or rulers in the interior of Thrace having been destroyed, killed or expelled by the Celts. After the defeat of 279-277 BC the Kingdom of the Getae was certainly not absorbed by the Kingdom of Tylis for a strong Getic political presence is attested in the area of Sboryanovo and Sveshtari in northeastern Thrace around the fortified city of Helis(?) with a royal necropolis (most recently Stoyanov et al. 2006). Nothing can be said in fact about the fate of the ruler of Kabyle Spartokos (most recently Димитров 2004, 109-110). The suggestion that he perished in the fight against the Celts in 279/278 BC (Манов 1999, 32) is not supported by any firm data. Thracian sovereigns certainly existed in the hinterlands and had influence on Mesambria and Apollonia Pontica (IG Bulg. I, ##307, 389). Although variously dated in the 3rd c. BC (last Delev 2003, 111-12; Димитров 2008, 77-78.15, 17), these decrees clearly indicate that the Great invasion neither put an end to these local dynasties, nor did limit their impact on the Greek communities on the West-Pontic shore.

Which settlements might have been submitted to destruction and pillage during the Great invasion? The major city of Lysimacheia was taken by subterfuge. Other cities in the Chersonessos and in the Propontis were seized by the Celts as well (Titus Livius, Ab urbe condita XXXVIII.16.4; Danov 1976, 373). The ultimate destruction of Pistiros in 279 BC is documented by a huge coin hoard of more than 500 pieces. The scholars investigating the site are convinced that the Celts were responsible for the disaster (Bouzek et al. 2004, 180). This may have happened when Celts penetrated from Northern to Southern Thrace through the pass of Succi, near modern Ihtiman, some 20 km N-W of Pistiros (cf. Кацаров 1919, 59). This does not preclude the demise of the important fortified settlement near Pernik, either a native or a Macedonian fort, during the Great invasion (Домарадски 1984, 117; Попов 2002, 141).

The case of Seuthopolis is more complicated. The ambiguity of the dating material (coins and amphora stamps) connects the end of the city (as an urban centre and as a capital city, despite some probable later occupation) either to the 270s BC or to the mid-3rd c. BC (most recently Dimitrov 2009, 287-288). The earlier chronology implies destruction during the Great Celtic invasion, see below. Antiochus II's campaign in Thrace in the 250s BC was pointed out as the second possible reason for Seuthopolis to be demolished. One of the serious arguments supporting this theory is the "Hellenistic battering equipment" which was not used by the Celts (Тачева 1986; 1987, 23-24; cf. Русева 1988.2, 13, 3.9-10; Юрукова 1992, 135-136). Both alternatives are found not to be mutually contradictory if the following sequence of events is restored: remnants of Komontorios' group driven out to the north after the defeat by Lysimacheia, seized Seuthopolis and established there or in the area nearby the residence of Tylis. Later the offensive by Kavaros against Kabyle led to the campaign of Antiochus II in Thrace, who, in turn, took Seuthopolis-Tylis (Манов 1999, 33, 46-47). This combination is highly uncertain for a Celtic capital in Seuthopolis or in the Kazanlak valley would be at a great distance from Byzantion and thus not in concordance with Polybius' information (IV. 46. 2-6) about constant Celtic contact with, pressure on and taxation of this polis (Лазаров 2003e, 142-44). There is no firm evidence that Antiochus II reached the area north of Kypsela as far as the Seuthes' capital city, see below. Destruction was not his usual practice as seen by the capture of Kypsela. The city surrendered to Antiochus after a demonstrative show of the wellbeing of the Thracian nobles in the King's retinue (Polyaenus, Strategemata IV.16 = XT, 213). The date and the destroyers of Seuthopolis will remain unknown unless new data comes to light, but the Celts in general can in no way be excluded. The end of the city did not, however, mean the

end of the state. Earlier artistic tradition from the time of Seuthopolis saw its continuation in the tombs near Muglizh and Krun dated to the late-3rd and early-2nd century BC (Чичикова 2004, 213-14). They belonged to aristocrats who survived the catastrophe and continued to rule over Seuthes' former territory from a new, not yet located political centre.

After the defeat near Lysimacheia 9000 of the surviving Celts were recruited by Antigonos II for the wars with Pyrrhos in the 270s. They required payment in "Macedonian gold coins". Their commander Kiderios got 30 talents (Polybius, Historia universalis IV.46.3; Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica XXII.5.11). Huge amounts of gold staters and silver tetradrachms of the Alexander type were produced in the mints of Pella and Amphipolis in response to this demand (Mathisen 1981, 102-03; Price 1991, 141-42) (**fig. 3**). This activity is well evidenced by the gold hoard from Nea Potidea (ancient Kassandreia) which is very consistent, both in typology and chronology (Le Rider 1991, 90, 94). Silver issues of the same group are attested in the hoard IGCH #869 from Philippopolis together with silver "Lysimachi" struck by the dynast of Kabyle, Skostokos, in the mint of Ainos. The hoard was hidden ca. 272 BC. It confirms the strong position of Gonatas in Aegean Thrace and some kind of alliance between him and local dynasts such as Skostokos (Dimitrov 1984, 77; Dimitrov 1996/7, #CIV; Димитров 2004, 111-12). Hiring Celts became a common practice among the other Hellenistic rulers. "The Kings of the Orient do not wage any war without Galatian mercenary troops..." (M. Iunianus Iustinus, Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi epitoma XXV.2; ИТМ, 251). Celts were often recruited from Thrace. Sometimes they served side by side with Thracians and under Thracian command (Домарадски 1984, 89-90). Mercenary engagement offered a good possibility for the Celts to infiltrate the Greek world.

Strabo (Geographica VII.3.2; ИТМ, 210) informs us of mixed communities of Bastarnae, Thracians and Celts: Boioi, Skordiskoi and Tauriskoi inhabiting some Danubian areas. There is a characteristic concentration of La Tène remains in the lands of the Triballi in Northwest Thrace, most of them dated to the 2nd c. BC (Домарадски 1984, 116.VIII). The infiltration of Celts in "small groups" into the local aristocracy certainly started immediately after the Great Invasion in these lands. They were occupied by the "little" or "mikroi" Skordiski who also included native ethnic components. The ethnikon does not indicate an individual ethnos, but rather a higher social stratum in a community established on territorial principles. A new mixed upper layer of society thus came into being. During the 3rd C. BC the Skordiskoi were organized in small communities overshadowed by the Dardanians and thus almost imperceptible to the ancient historiography. The political domination of the Skordiskoi in the Central Balkans began after the end of the Macedonian Kingdom in 148 BC (Popović 1987, 137; Popović 1991, 44-346). The conditions in the area were less favorable and much harder for living than those in the Southeast. This implied the need for immediate peaceful interaction and social cooperation between Celts and locals. Having no access to the rich centers of the Greek world, the new mixed communities continued exploiting the older economical, trade and road infrastructure connecting the Aegean and the Danubian lands. This is well evidenced by the coin hoards of Ogoia, 60 km north of Sofia (IGCH #435), of Hinova (IGCH #452), of Jabukovac and of Krcedin, all buried ca. 270-250 BC. They consisted of Macedonian and Near-East tetradrachm issues of the Alexander type mixed with Danubian imitations of different Macedonian types (Dimitrov 1989, 133-34). One of the main achievements of this mode of peaceful coexistence is that "...la forte influence de la civilization celtes...par l'intermédiaire des Skordisques dans ce cas, pénètre dans des contrées déjà fortement hellénisées" (Popović 1991, 341).

Unlike the Skordiskoi in Northwest Thrace no collaboration or mixing with the locals is evidenced in the Kingdom of Tylis. The probable reason is the proximity of the coastal cities and the greed to exploit their riches, without sharing them with the Thracians. The location, the areas of interaction, the activities and the nature of the Kingdom of Tylis can be recovered in general terms from the written and numismatic evidence, although they are variously interpreted in modern historiography.

The Tylites constantly harassed **Byzantion** plundering and devastating its *chora*, requiring and receiving annual tribute. This increased from 3000 to 5000, then to 10000 staters reaching a peak of 80 talents. This pushed the Byzantines to introduce taxes on the trade shipping in the Pont, which caused tension in the area and war with Rhodes and Prussias (Polybius, Historia universalis IV.46.2-6; 47.1-6; XT, 67). Eighty talents can be evaluated at 2120 kg of gold or 243 680 staters of 8.70 g each. Compared to this amount, the annual "golden wreath" of 50 staters, accorded by Mesambria to Sadalas in the 3rd c. BC (IGBulg I, #307), seems rather insignificant and symbolic.

The last Celtic king Kavaros (ca. 235-218 BC) did "great favours" to the Byzantines while they were waging war with the Thracians and Bithynians. In fact he was credited with settling the second conflict (Polybius, Historia universalis IV.52; VIII.22; XT, 69, 72). A leading motive in Kavaros' diplomatic activities was certainly to secure the receipt of the important tribute from Byzantion (Тачева 1987, 32; cf. Манов 1999, 53 without reference to Tacheva).

The silver tetradrachms of the Alexander type with the name of Kavaros were undoubtedly struck in the mint of **Kabyle** ca. 230-218 BC (Герасимов 1955; Gerassimov 1958, 275; Драганов 1993, 79-81). They adduce evidence of direct relations between the city and the last Celtic king variously interpreted in modern historiography, see below. Kabyle provided an ill-preserved inscription in which only the words "*basileus*", "*polis*" and "*Galatai*" can be restored with some certitude. The text is said to refer to some "...important problems from the history of Kabyle during the 3rd c. BC related to the presence of the Celts or Celtic mercenaries in Thrace" (Велков 1991, 11-12.2).

In a copy of a Doric decree, found in **Apollonia Pontica** and issued most probably by **Mesambria** the words "*epimachia*" (troops sent under an one-sided agreement in a defensive alliance), "*Antiochus*" and probably "*Apollonians*" were restored (Михайлов 1948, 63-66. 13; IGBulg I, #388). Another decree from the first half of the 3rd c. BC testifies to help offered by Histria to Apollonia against its enemies (Данов 1939, 217). Extensive theories about Celtic pressure on the Black sea colonies were built on this scarce information, see below.

The coinage of the last king of Tylis, Kavaros, comprises the following types minted at Kabyle, ca. 230-218 BC according to the dating and the mint-attribution of the silver (**figs. 4-8**):

4. Silver tetradrachms of the Alexander type "Herakles/Zeus Aetophoros" ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ (Герасимов 1955; Price 1991, 173-74 Pl. CLVIII.I; Драганов 1993, 79-81);
5. Bronze 20 mm. Apollo/Nike ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ (SNG BM #194-196)
6. Bronze 15 mm. Apollo/Celtic shield ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ (SNG BM #197)
7. Bronze 15 mm. Herakles/cornucopiae ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ (Youroukova 1976, 109; SNG BM #198: "Zeus")
8. Bronze 10 mm. Hermes/caduceus ΒΑΣΙ ΚΑΥΑ (SNG BM #199)

The dies for the tetradrachms were produced by Mesambrian engravers (Герасимов 1959, 114; Gerassimov 1958, 274-275). Recently the same was suggested for the bronzes of type 5. Engravers from Odessos might have been involved in other types as well. The images of type 8 reproduce

FIGURE 3. Gold stater of Antigonos Gonatas (= Price 1991, Plate III.610).

FIGURE 4. Silver tetradrachm of Kavaros (= Gerassimov 1958, Plate XVI.4).

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FIGURES 5-8. Bronze coins of Kavaros (= SNG BM, Nos 194, 197-199). Plaster casts.

an issue of Tomis. The Mesambrian mint or Pontic die-cutters working at the King's residence at Arkovna have also been deduced as the producers of Kavaros' bronzes (Lazarov 1993, 9, 15 note 65; Лазаров 2003b, 31-32, 34). The silver circulated in the Mediterranean as did other similar issues of the Alexander type (Драганов 1993, 79-81), while the bronzes covered some areas in eastern Thrace such as near Provadia-Dalgopol, Nessebar-Pomorie, Aitos-Karnobat, Sliven-Yambol, Nova Zagora and Stara Zagora (most recently Лазаров 2003c, 43).

Two more types of bronze coins were recently attributed to Kavaros: Zeus/Horseman, restruck on a coin of Skostokos, and Zeus/Celtic shield. According to their publisher they were minted at Kabyle, ca. 255-252 BC, and at a "military mint" in the residence on Arkovna, see below, ca. 252-250 BC respectively. The tetradrachms were dated from ca. 240 BC onwards and the bronzes as follows: "Apollo/Celtic shield" in Kabyle or Arkovna ca. 252/0-246/5; "Apollo/Nike" in Kabyle ca. 245/0-218; "Herakles/cornucopiae", the head recognized as that of Darzalas or a portrait of Kavaros – in Odessos ca. 230/25-218 BC and "Hermes/caduceus" in Odessos, ca. 225-218 BC (Манов 1999, 50-52). This schema is built on the new "attributions" to Kavaros' coinage (the types "Zeus/horseman" and "Zeus/Celtic shield"). However, they were found to be highly doubtful, especially the "horseman" one. New, better preserved pieces or at least photographs of good quality are required to make Manov's chronology and attribution credible (Лазаров 2003e, 141, 145-146, 148). Various arguments extracted from the political relations of the Tylite Celts with Kabyle, the Pontic colonies and Antiochus II (Манов 1999, 34-37, 45-48) have been expanded on in turn in speculations which cannot be proved, see below. At any rate they can in no way represent serious arguments to explain the iconography and to found chronology and mint-attribution for

Kavaros' coinage alternative to that already established by Gerassimov and Price (1991 and in SNG BM), see above.

The **location of Tylis, the boundaries of the Kingdom and the areas of its influence** have been disputed for years (Lazarov 1993, 7-9). Most scholars keep to the story of Polybius and place Tylis "au Nord et non loin de Byzantion" between the middle course of the Hebros and the lower course of the Tonzos (Михайлов 1955, 155; Mihailov 1961, 39-40; Венедиков 1955, 79), in the area of Strandja and Sakar (Домарадски 1984, 87) or between Strandja and Byzantion (Тачева 1987, 31). These authors accept a relatively small territory for the Kingdom. The Celtic capital was located near Tulovo by Kazanlak (Ireček 1876) based on a description of Tylis as a "polis in Thrace near Haemus" (Stephanus Byzantius, Ethnica 640.20). This location seems plausible to Kazarov (Кацаров 1919, 66-67). He and other authors believe in an extremely large Kingdom of Tylis beyond the Danube, see above. Tacheva noticed that by "Haemus" Stephanus of Byzantium could well have understood Strandja (Тачева1987, 31-33). Gerov, referring to the silver coins of Kavaros minted at Kabyle, believed that Tylis was situated close to that city or was even identical with it (Геров 1967, 32-33, note 6). The *castellum* of Tuleus, situated between Pisone and Arzos (Procopius Caesariensis, De aedificiis 4.11), the latter 10 km South-West of Hadrianopolis, has been suggested as a possible candidate for Celtic Tylis. A similar location is supported by a burial with a "Celtic" chariot from Mezek, ca. 40 km North-West of Hadrianopolis. Either that of a Celtic noble or of a Thracian who acquired the chariot as booty or as a gift from the Celtic king, the burial was accepted as a clue that "... the Celts from Tylis lived close to that area" (Домарадски 1984, 79, 125-126; cf. Lazarov 1993, 8; contra: Кацаров 1919, 66 note 4 without arguments). La Tène artefacts and coins of Kavaros from the area of the impressive fortress on the peak of Arkovna near Dalgopol inspired the location of Tylis there, under the name of Arkunia or Arkunis (Lazarov 1993, 13-15; most recently Лазаров 2003b, 34; Лазаров 2003c, 43; Лазаров 2003d, 70).

The relations of the Tylites with Kabyle and the Pontic poleis were the subject of various comments as well. According to some of them, Celtic pressure coming from Tylis was probably felt on the Black Sea shore, especially by Mesambria, Apollonia and Salmidessos. The Tylites imposed a tribute (Schmidt 1888, 110; Кацаров 1919, 68-69) and had a strong political impact on these cities (Данов1939, 215; Михайлов 1948, 65). "Mesambria and Kabyle were within the boundaries of the Kingdom of the Celts while Mesambria (though autonomous) was Kavar's principal port" (Lazarov 1993, 9-10). The huge production of gold staters of Kallatis during the 3rd c. BC was recognized as "protection money" paid either to the Gauls as Byzantion did (Price 1991, 176) or to a "chef local". It could represent the financing of trade of cereals (Poenaru-Bordea 1974, 120-21 with substantial reference to epigraphic data) and payment to mercenaries as well (Poenaru-Bordea 1979, 50). A Celtic penetration under Kavaros into the interior of Thrace as far as Kabyle and the Pontic shore between Byzantion and Apollonia seemed plausible to Tacheva as well (Тачева 1987, 31-33). Some development in the Celto-Pontic *modus vivendi* was supposed as well. Initially "a deadly threat" to the Pontic cities, the Celts incorporated them in their state but later relations became friendly and collaborative (Лазаров 2003a, 17). According to another view, Apollonia, Mesambria and Kabyle did not suffer from the attentions of the Celts and remained outside their state. Kabyle paid an annual tribute to Kavaros in silver coins and was obliged to put the ruler's name on some of the issues. At the same time the Celtic King controlled if not a strip from the Pontic shore, at least one of the Pontic harbors in order to be able to trade along the shore (Герасимов 1955, 115-16; Gerassimov 1958, 275; Драганов 1993, 79).

Of particular interest to our study are the attempts to interpret the scarce epigraphic evidence from the above mentioned Greek poleis. According Mihailov the decree IGBulg I, #388 was issued by Mesambria to celebrate a strategos on command of of an epimachia, sent by Antiochus II to Mesambria and Apollonia ca. 260 BC when it was "...constantly threatened by the Celts" (Михайлов 1948, 63-66. 13; IGBulg I, #388). The enemy of Apollonia whose name is left off the slab, has also been supposed to be Thracians from her hinterland, already mentioned in IG Bulg. I, #389. Other data on Celtic attacks against Olbia, Histria and Apollonia were found "not convincing" as well (Тачева 1987, 23, 33). Meanwhile a post-205 BC date for the Doric decree was advanced, attributing it to the time of Antiochus III and the years after the abolishment of the Celtic Kingdom (Данов 1951/2, 140-45 with reference to Appianus, Syriaca 6). The question of either Antiochus II or III helped Apollonia and Mesambria remained unclear for Bengston (1962, 27-28) who admitted that "...wird die Entscheidung nicht leicht". Regardless of the unsolved dilemma and the alternative chronology, the Doric decree was superficially associated with the abundant bronze coins of Antiochus II from Kabyle and to the few similar pieces from the necropolis of Apollonia. A reconstruction of the Seleucid campaign in Thrace in the 250s BC based on these finds seems to be as follows: after the capture of Lysimacheia and Kypsela the Syrian troops went further north surrounding the Celtic territory from the west. They seized Kabyle, where their presence is "undisputedly" attested by the numerous Seleucid bronzes countermarked in the city. Then they helped Mesambria and Apollonia (Юрукова 1982, 4; Юрукова 1992, 150-51; cf. Nankov 2009, 273). The few words in the damaged text from Kabyle were more cautiously connected either to the same campaign, or to the relations between Kabyle and the Celts (Велков 1991, 11-12).

Recently almost all of the above theories were unified in an impressive scenario, chiefly based on the "Zeus/Horseman" coin of Kavaros, re-struck on a coin of Skostokos. Seized by the Celts of Komontorios after the collapse near Lysimacheia, Seuthopolis was renamed Tylis and housed the Celtic residence until the 250s. Particular stress was laid on the "...La Tène, i.e. Celtic archaeological material..." found in Seuthopolis. Later Kabyle was captured by Kavaros who dethroned the local ruler Skostokos. Teres, probably a son of Skostokos' who survived the catastrophe and Dromichaites – a Getic noble, whose lands north of the Haemus may have suffered at the hands of the Celts as well, and the heavily taxed Greek cities demanded help from Antiochus II. The Syrian ruler conducted his famous Thracian campaign following the route supposed by Youroukova. He vanquished the Celts, destroyed Seuthopolis-Tylis, restored the autonomy of Kabyle and accorded the polis the right to strike coins. Kavaros removed his residence to Arkovna-Tylis II. Then followed a treaty between Antiochus and Kavaros, guaranteeing the status of Kabyle (the text published by Velkov, see above). The relations with Mesambria and Odessos were probably settled as well. After the retreat of Antiochus Kavaros recaptured the city and imposed on her a tribute in silver coins bearing the king's name (Манов 1999, 33-37, 44-48; for critics: Лазаров 2003e, 141-51).

The problems concerning Tylis and the territory of the Kingdom were recently summarized both in terms of results and principles of investigation. The idea of a very large Celtic state was found to be incompatible with the evidence concerning several Thracian states by that time. On the other hand the territory of the Kingdom was not permanent and unchanging during the whole period of its existence. A location for Tylis in the immediate vicinity of Byzantion or in the Strandja or near Hadrianopolis around the confluence of the Hebros and the Tonzos "...remains equally conjectural, but fits better into the general picture of the political disintegration of the region during the whole period" (Delev 2003, 109).

The Kingdom of Tylis was a purely Celtic enterprise, the Thracians having been previously expelled from their land. It was founded by the remains of a single horde not exceeding 20-30 000 people; at the same time the Thracians on the territory of modern Bulgaria have been estimated at ca. 1 000 000 (cf. Венедиков 1955, 80). A later flow of lower Danubian or other Celts would be logical, as well as some migration from Tylis to Asia Minor. In total, the Tylite Celts were "comparatively few in number" (Danov 1975/6, 36-39; Danov 1976, 375-76) to occupy and defend broad lands. The existence of the Getic Kingdom centered in Sboryanovo, the Thracian sovereigns in the hinterlands of Mesambria and Apollonia Pontica (IGBulg I, ##307, 389) and the autonomous city of Kabyle – independent at least until the retreat of Antiochus II, see below, undermine the idea of a large Celtic territory. It was limited by the milestones of Celtic presence and pressure, concretely revealed by texts and coinage. These were: 1) Byzantion during the whole period of the existence of the Celtic state, 2) Kabyle ca. 230-218 BC. The Celts did not play any role in the offensive of Antiochus II against the "Thracian" city of Kypsela in the 250s BC (Polyaenus, Strategemata IV.16; XT, 213). By that time the Celtic Kingdom obviously extended to the east and possibly to the north of Kypsela reaching the *chora* of Byzantion (cf. Юрукова 1982, 4). As the epigraphic data on the Celtic pressure over Apollonia and Mesambria are very uncertain and the enemy of both colonies remains unknown, the Tylite territory most probably touched the West-Pontic shore south of the Bay of Bourgas bordering on the realms of the Thracian dynasties mentioned in IGBulg I, ##307, 389.

Now let us turn back to the problem of Tylis. It could in no way be identical either with Seuthopolis, or with Kabyle, or with the fortress on Arkovna, each of these centres being at considerable distance from Byzantion. There is no archaeological evidence for two destructions in Seuthopolis which would be necessary to affirm the theory of Manov. The ruins do not reveal any post-collapse constructions to be associated with the descriptions of Tylis as a "polis" or "residence". The La Tène material in the city was long ago interpreted as a result of cultural influence (Домарадски 1984, 122-24, see also J. Emilov's paper in this volume) and not as a Celtic ethnic or political presence. The same can be said of Arkovna as well. The abundant finds of bronze coins of Odessos and Mesambria testify to permanent small-scale trade contacts between the area of Dalgopol and both Pontic cities (Лазаров 2003a; Лазаров 2003c, 32; Лазаров 2003d). At a distance of ca. 50 km to them, it was certainly close to their choras. If so, the coins of Kavaros could reach there simply as a result of Pontic trade and are not necessarily evidence of Celtic political presence as insisted by Lazarov.

The *castellum* of Tuleus has the best claim to be identified with Tylis due to a combination of the similar sounding name, relative proximity to Byzantion and the imposing La Tène chariot from Mezek, a clue to a Celtic political context or proximity. Although suggestive, this evidence does not definitely solve the problem.

Kabyle most probably belonged to the Celtic state for some years. Silver and probably bronze coins with Kavaros' name come from her mint alone, although Byzantion and probably some other cities paid tribute to the Celts as well. As the legend propagated the sovereignty of Kavaros, the coins could be issued only by a city incorporated in the Kingdom rather than by an independent one. At the same time Kabyle certainly enjoyed some internal autonomy and the right to have civic coinage (cf. Lazarov 1993, 9-10; Лазаров 2003c, 44). The details of the capture of Kabyle by Kavaros and its submission to him are unfortunately unknown. They could hardly be founded on a unique and doubtful overstruck coin, see above. Even if correctly identified such a coin could neither prove that Kavaros was the immediate successor of Skostokos in Kabyle, nor that he occupied

the city as early as the 250s BC. On the other hand, the Thracian campaign of Antiochus II in the 250s must not be regarded as a simple response to local affairs in the interior of Thrace. Antiochus's major ambition was to re-conquer the Thracian legacy of his grandfather Seleukos I, the victor of Lysimachos. The campaign was directed against Ptolemy II and his mightiest ally in Thrace, Byzantion (Михайлов 1948, 65-66; Тачева 1987, 23; Le Rider 1988, 196). Later Antiochus III was led by the same intention and "...came with troops to take back Chersonese and the cities in Thrace..." (Polybius, Historia universalis XVIII.51.3-6; XT, 76). The Syrian kings obviously aimed first of all at taking control of the coastal areas and poleis and gaining popularity among the Greek communities. Antiochus II organized his main base at Lysimacheia, the old capital of Lysimachos and his Thracian Kingdom (cf. Le Rider 1988, 196-97, 202). Having landed in Thrace, he certainly had to interfere in local conflicts and perhaps offer help to Greek poleis such as Mesambria and Apollonia. But who were the enemies – Celts, Thracians, or others? In the second quarter of the 3rd c. BC Byzantion won a war against Kallatis and Histria for the monopoly in Tomis. The Celts were not involved in the conflict thus leaving the impression of unconditional Byzantine control along the West-Pontic shore to the north of the Bourgas Bay. This idea is supported by the view that the Celts were not skilled in seafaring (Данов 1939, 216; Danov 1976, 373; Тачева 1987, 33). If so, the Seleucid aid to Apollonia and Mesambria, if accorded by Antiochus II, may have been intended to stop the expansion of Byzantion and sent by sea. Then it would be not necessary for Antiochus' troops to go through Kabyle. Their presence there does not seem to be as certain as is claimed by Youroukova. The Seleucid bronzes could have reached the city from Lysimacheia or Kypsela by riverine trade route (the Hebros and the Tonzos) and cannot be taken as firm evidence for Seleucid military occupation. The context and the geography of the military operations being insufficiently clear, they cannot confirm an annexation of Kabyle by Kavaros and an extension of the Celtic state to the north-west of its original territory before the retreat of Antiochus II from Thrace. This chronology fits better with the dating of Kavaros' silver issues in Kabyle ca. 230-218 BC. By that time the Aegean and the Propontic coasts of Thrace had already come into the possession of the Lagids (Polybius, Historia universalis V.34.7-8; XT, 70). Expansion of the Celts southward was thus impossible.

Kabyle flourished under Kavaros maintaining lively trade contacts with Mesambria (Герасимов 1959, 115; Gerassimov 1958, 274-75; last Лазаров 2003c, 44). The cooperation between the mints of both cities has already been mentioned. At least one of the Pontic harbours south of the Bourgas Bay was certainly under Celtic control, which allowed Kavaros to protect and participate in the Pontic trade as suggested by Gerassimov.

Byzantion was permanently harassed and burdened with heavy taxes by the communities outside the state such as the Thracians and Celts. This harsh treatment did not shake the maritime supremacy of the city clearly demonstrated by the victory over Histria and Kallatis and by the taxation of merchants in the Bosphorus. The "favours" done by Kavaros to Byzantion secured the payment of the important tribute.

There is no firm evidence for hostilities and wars between the Celts and the West-Pontic colonies. Thematic and iconographic similarity between their coins and those of the colonies are evident. The combination "head of Hermes and caduceus" as on Kavaros's type 8 appears on issues of Kallatis (AMNG I/1 #253) and Tomis (AMNG I/2 ##2425-2439). The head of Hermes and cornucopiae (cf. Kavaros's type 7) were employed in the Odessos mint (AMNG I/2 ##2216, 2219, 2222, 2222a) and a bearded head of Herakles, cf. Kavaros's type 7 again – in the mint of Kallatis (AMNG I/1 ##275-278). The similarities resulted in the circulation of the Pontic-style

bronzes of Kavaros, Mesambria and Odessos in one and the same areas. This reveals trade contacts and friendly relations, incontestably supported by the involvement of West-Pontic engravers in Kavaros's coinage.

As mentioned above, relations of the Celts to Antiochus II, if any, are practically undocumented and thus obscured to us. Another Syrian ruler, Antiochus Hierax came to Thrace and seized Lysimacheia for a short time before being killed by the Celts in 228/227 BC (Pompeius Trogus, Prologi XXVII; Михайлов 1948, 66; Le Rider 1988, 202-03). The circumstances are equally unclear.

From the time of its foundation the Tylite Kingdom was obviously hostile to the Thracians. Ca. 218 BC it was annihilated in a final clash with them (Polybius, Historia universalis IV.46.4; XT, 67). Most probably these were the enemies of Byzantion, the city being favored by the services of Kavaros in the conflict. There is a hypothesis that the destroyers of the Tylite Kingdom inhabited the West-Pontic shore south of Apollonia. They struck back when Kavaros tried to stamp out piracy in the area as protector of the Pontic trade (Тачева 1987, 33; cf. Polybius, Historia universalis VIII.22.1; XT, 72). A hostile environment and demographic flow were the main reasons for the military weakness and fall of the Kingdom (Кацаров 1919, 71-72; Danov 1975/6, 39; Домарадски 1984, 86). Some "independent Celts"– certainly remnants of the Tylites in the vicinity of Byzantion – were mentioned as late as 195/4 BC (Appianus, Syriaca 6.22; Геров 1967, 33 note 2).

The Hellenization of the Celts was noticed long ago (Кацаров 1919, 71; Popović 1991, 344; Лазаров 2003d, 145). In the period under consideration – the 3rd c. BC Hellenization of a community would first of all mean that it was involved in processes of coexistence, interaction and mutual penetration of Greek and local (non-Greek, barbarous) forms (cf. Зельин 1952, 147). A similar milieu already existed in the southeast of Thrace (Димитров 2004), where the Kingdom of Tylis was constituted. The Celts "...were most probably under strong influence from the local material culture" (Домарадски 1984, 87) bearing both native and Greek elements. Some written evidence for the above mentioned processes refers to the last Celtic king Kavaros. In his retinue Greek advisors were welcomed like the Chalcedonian "flatterer" Sostratos who "corrupted" the king (Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae VI.250 with reference to Polybius). Kavaros was famous for protecting the trade in the Black Sea region. His coinage is considered to be a testimony to Hellenization (Кацаров 1919, 71) and as one of the "typical Hellenistic features" of the Celtic state (Лазаров 2003c, 44).

The Kingdom of Tylis was a monarchy with a small territory. At one period the state incorporated the polis of Kabyle. The city obviously paid a personal tribute to the king required in Alexander tetradrachms, some of them bearing the name and the royal title of Kavaros. The income of the state came chiefly from tributes from subjects and neighbours. At the same time the Tylites were involved in trade with more or less distant partners such as the West-Pontic cities. The internal autonomy of Kabyle being respected, the city developed its economy and trade on its own. This social and political model represented a mixture of eastern or barbaric (tributary) and Greek trade economy and a combination of an eastern military monarchy with a Greek polis, typical of the Hellenistic monarchies (Briant 1982, 298 sqq, 412 sqq; Will et al. 1975, 527 sqq).

The monetary policy of Kavaros followed those of many other Hellenistic rulers and the Greek poleis, who struck various coins for different purposes. Kavaros' silver tetradrachms of the Alexander type, minted in Kabyle, were accepted as a pan-Mediterranean currency. Three of the bronze types of coins – types 6, 7, 8 measuring 10-15 mm were subdivisions of type 2 measuring

20 mm, which can be considered a unit (cf. Lazarov 1993, 5-6, 9). The bronze coinage of Kavaros as a whole was no doubt designed both for external and domestic trade in the State and along the West-Pontic shore and for trade operations of various scales. This pattern perfectly completes the image of Kavaros not only as protector, but also as participator and organizer of the West-Pontic trade (cf. Герасимов 1959, 116).

The iconography of Kavaros' bronzes sheds light on the religion and the ideology of his state. All types bear the name and the royal title of Kavaros in full or as an abbreviation, so the semantics certainly references the personality of the king, who had, most probably, unlimited, personal monarchic power as did each of the Hellenistic rulers by that time. Types 5 and 6 – Apollo/Nike and Apollo/Oblong shield – are unified by the same idea. The oblong shield was typical of the Celts (Домарадски 1984, 42, рис. 14), and the main idea implied in the above types can only be victory and protection under the auspices of Apollo. One is tempted to expect some idea of the identity of Kavaros with Apollo as a protector of the Greeks against the Barbarians (the Thracians and the Bithynians?) similar to earlier conception in Rome, see above. Semantics like that would fit well with the popularity of Apollo in Kabyle and in the West-Pontic colonies. However, at the moment such suggestion would appear merely speculative.

Type 8 of Kavaros' bronzes combines the head of Hermes and his main attribute, the caduceus. In Greek religion Hermes was the god of trade. A sanctuary of Hermes, no doubt on account of this very function, was erected on the European side of the Bosphorus (Polybius, Historia universalis IV.43.2-4; XT, 65). The effigies on Kavaros' coins represent the king as protector of the Pontic trade acting on behalf of Hermes' divine will.

Type 7 features the head of Herakles and the cornucopia. The semantics of this symbol, derived from the myth of Amaltheia was certainly known to Kavaros. No doubt it was employed as a coin type to promote Kavaros once again as a protector of trade – the main source of plenty in the areas of the Black Sea and the Propontis.

The affinity of Kavaros with the above cults attested in his coinage was probably due to the intention of the king to expand his image as a regulator of the conflicts in the Propontic region such as the one between Byzantion and Prusias.

The iconography of Kavaros' coinage features standard Greek deities, divine and mythological symbols such as Apollo, Hermes, Herakles, Nike, caduceus, cornucopia. No doubt the Celtic king understood and employed the religion and the ideology of Southeast Thrace and the West-Pontic shore (i.e. the common Thracian-Greek contact language) to facilitate his relations to the local poleis and be better accepted by them in order to maximize the furthering of his interests.

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# Ancient Texts on the Galatian Royal Residence of Tylis and the Context of La Tène Finds in Southern Thrace. A Reappraisal

Julij Emilov

*"...whatever one really knows, one has sufficient evidence for.*
*One must have evidence, because knowledge is not mere true belief."*
(Butchvarov 1970, 25)

## INTRODUCTION

The establishment of a political structure of Galatians in Thrace is a direct consequence of historically attested Celtic raids in the Eastern Balkans at the end of the first quarter of the 3rd century BC. These events and the kingdom of the Thracian Galatians have a short-term impact on the political landscape in the region. Concomitant phenomena of contacts between groups from the La Tène zone in Temperate Europe and the communities in Early Hellenistic Thrace however are followed by integration of personal adornment or weaponry of La Tène types in local cultural milieu and significant changes in material expressions of status and identity in the Eastern Balkans (overview of historical events in Кацаров 1919; Mihailov 1961; Danov 1979, 47-71; Тачева 1997, 30-35; Delev 2003; various archaeological aspects of the Celtic raids in Thrace and their results are discussed in Domaradzki 1976; 1980; Домарадски 1984, 69-90, 115-49; Megaw 2004; Theodossiev 2005; Bouzek 2005; Emilov 2005; 2007).

The most controversial topic in modern scholarship on the Thracian Galatians is the geographical extent of their kingdom and the location of Tylis, known from the Fourth book of Polybius as a royal residence. Some researchers suggest a large territory under its control and a dominant position for the Galatians after the raids (Lazarov 1993, 11-13; Лазаров 1996a; Berresford-Ellis 1997, 65-66; Бересфорд-Елис 2008, 223; Mac Congail 2008, 60-63), while others regard their polity, as merely one of the political entities in Southern Thrace during the third century (Михайлов 1955; Danov 1975 / 1976; 1979, 47-71; Тачева-Хитова 1981; Domaradzki 1995, 125-27; Delev 2003). Debates on the location of Tylis are directly related to general discussion of the role of the Galatians among the factors in political decentralization, temporal stagnation or economic decline in the region after the prosperous times of the Early Hellenistic period (Венедиков 1955; Данов / Фол 1979; Фол 1997, 288-89; Делев 2004, 282-90).

The diversity of opposing hypotheses and contradictory explanations seems to confirm an observation, made by M. Domaradzki (1983, 38) more than a quarter of a century ago, that "a lack of clarity, concerning the problem of relations between Thracians and Celts is not due to the complexity of these contacts, but rather to the modern state of knowledge on the historical reality in Thrace of the third and the second century BC" . There are, however, objective reasons for the current situation of scholarship such as scanty information on the topic in ancient historical tradition or paucity of archaeological evidence, which could reflect the Galatian activity in the region.

FIGURE 1. Map of sites, mentioned in the text: A – modern towns; B – settlements in Hellenistic period. Byzantion (1), Lysimacheia (2), Bizye (3), Perinthos (4), Apollonia Pontica (5), Seuthopolis (6), Philippopolis (7), Kazanlak (8), Veliko Tarnovo (9), Varna (10), Kilyos (11). Strandzha mountain in capital letters.

## SCEPTICAL APPROACH OR THE RATIONAL LIMITS OF EXPLANATION

The focus of the present paper is on critical reexamination of all available references to the place-name Tylis by writers of the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique periods, which in fact constitute the basis of the majority of modern suggestions about the location of the "palace". Special attention is paid to context and details in the literary information, which could suggest valuable hints on analyzing the data and consideration of its reliability as a source about Tylis or Galatians in Thrace. The aim of such reassessment is not a construction of historical narrative or another daring suggestion about the location of Tylis, but evaluation of options in interpreting the textual evidence.

Archaeological aspects of the topic of Galatian presence in Southern Thrace are discussed in an overview of La Tène finds, discovered in the geographical territory and contemporary to the kingdom of Tylis, with emphasis again on their context. Introduction, distribution and local production of such items in Hellenistic urban centers like Seuthopolis or Philippopolis provide an opportunity to reveal and illustrate the inconsistencies in biased ethnic interpretations of these artifacts as material evidence, exclusively related in Thrace only to Galatians or as indication of Celtic enclaves in the region.

## THE POLYBIAN LEGACY

The Fourth book of Polybius' Histories contains the earliest surviving reference to Tylis in a passage about the arrival of Galatians under the command of Komontorios in the environs of Byzantion and their later relations with the *polis*. According to *Polyb. 4.46.1*, in Paton's (1922, 413) translation: *"these Gauls had quitted their homes together with Brennus and his Gauls, and after escaping from the disaster at Delphi reached the Hellespont, where instead of crossing to Asia, they remained on the spot, as they took a fancy to the country near Byzantium."* The phrase *"after escaping from the disaster at Delphi"* (διαφυγόντες δὲ τὸν περὶ Δελφοὺς κίνδυνον) is particularly ambiguous. It remains unclear whether the group have avoided "the danger" and escaped the Delphic episode "being elsewhere" like the Galatians with Leonnorios and Lutarios, or survived the Brennos campaign and reached the Hellespont (commentary on the text with different conclusions in Walbank 1957, 599; Nachtergael 1977, 169; Werner 1996, 287; Tomaschitz 2002, 140; 2007; Gabelko 2006, 224-28; and Boteva in the present volume). Both versions however are equally conjectural as is the suggestion of Strobel (1996, 231) concerning their return to the Danubian region with Bathanattos prior to arrival near the Straits.

Brennos's campaign, mentioned in the text, contains an important chronological indication to date the event after 279 BC. The phrase *"instead of crossing to Asia, they remained"* (εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ κατέμειναν) is also considered as a clue that the Galatians with Komontorios reached Byzantion after 278/7 BC, when the groups under the command of Leonnorios and Lutarios were already in Anatolia (Домарадски 1984, 81; Delev 2003, 108; Tomaschitz 2007, 86).

The following part of the same paragraph *(Polyb. 4.46.2-3)* is the most discussed information in Polybius's account of the Thracian Galatians, including his reference to Tylis: *"here when they had conquered the Thracians and had established their capital at Tylis, they placed the Byzantines in extreme danger. At first, during the inroads made under Comontorius the first king, the Byzantines continued to pay on each occasion three thousand, five thousand, and sometimes even ten thousand gold pieces to save their territory from being laid waste"* (Paton 1922, 413, 415).

The arrival of Komontorios's group and their relations with Byzantion are part of a detailed description of the geographical conditions and historical circumstances in the region near the Pontic strait in the author's explanation of the reasons for the Byzantine-Rhodian conflict (commentaries on the text in Walbank 1957, 497-500; 1972, 47, 127; Werner 1996, 288-89; Фол / Русинов / Йорданов 2001, 148-49; Gabelko 2006, 225; Tomaschitz 2007, 86).

Tax figures mentioned in the text reveal Polybius to be well informed about the polis and its experience with Thracian Galatians, but his account of their actions lacks additional details and remains largely outside the author's main scope. Lost books by Demetrius of Byzantium or Nymphis of Heracleia are considered as possible or probable variants for sources of this passage (Walbank 1957, 499; 1984, 9), but there are only indirect indications to support these presumptions, so the question of Polybius's sources for his information about the Galatians near Byzantion has no certain answer. Based on some specific expressions and the historiographer's pro-Byzantine views, Walbank (2002, 35) raised the idea that Polybius probably visited the polis near Bosporus almost a century after these events.

Previous chapters of the same Fourth book also contain information, which is directly related to the reference to Tylis. The historiographer mentions that the citizens of Byzantion suffered from "warfare both perpetual and most difficult" against Thracian dynasts preceding Galatian interference. His conclusion in *Polyb. 4.45.10* is of *"very grave danger"*, when the polis was *"also attacked*

*by the Gauls under Comontorius".* Walbank (1957, 498; 2002, 35-37), Eckstein (1995, 121) and Champion (2004, 248) regard Polybius's description of Byzantion's difficulties with Thracians and Galatians as a "classical example" of the dangers, which a barbarian neighbor could pose to any Hellenic polis – an illustration of one of the author's moral visions.

Two particularly important details in Polyb. 4.46.2's reference to Tylis deserve special attention. The term used to describe the place-name is βασίλειον – a substantive adjective, which both Shuckburgh (1889, 320) and Paton (1922, 415) translated as "capital". In his Bulgarian translation of selected Polybian passages, which influenced later research on the topic Danov (1949, 138) was even more descriptive – "the town of Tylis, capital of the kingdom".

Recent studies are more cautious with such definitions and try to comply with the correct meaning of βασίλειον – a palace or a royal residence (Gabelko 2006, 225). In this respect one finds Königssitz in Tomaschitz's (2002, 139; 2007, 95) German translation and commentaries on the text and a royal residence in the latest Bulgarian translation by Russinov (Фол / Русинов / Йорданов 2001, 134). The aorist participle from κατασκευάζω – κατασκευασάμενοι contains a notion of transformation – to equip, to furnish fully, to prepare or arrange, but the verb could also have a more trivial meaning – to make or to build (Liddell / Scott 1940: κατασκευάζω). The second idea is evident in the noun κατασκευή – a building or a construction.

The analysis of Polybius's account in its exact context as well as lexical notes on the term and verbal form in his reference about Tylis are essential in any attempt to interpret it in search of the answer to the question – what is Tylis and where is the royal residence of the Thracian Galatians located?

There is a direct analogy between *Polyb. 4.46.2* concerning Tylis and the statement at the end of the previous passage *(Polyb. 4.45.10),* that the Galatian arrival *"placed the Byzantines in extreme danger"*. Komontorios and his group didn't cross to Asia, because they *"took a fancy to the country near Byzantium"* or, to adopt a more precise translation of the phrase, *"were attracted by the places around Byzantium" (Polyb. 4.46.1).* After victory over the nearby Thracians comes the question of *"Danegeld"*, paid by the citizens to save the *chora* of the *polis* from total devastation and Komontorios is called *"the first king"* of the Thracian Galatians. Polybius's account of the events leaves the impression that Tylis is a royal residence or a newly constructed building with palatial function, located in the vicinity of Byzantion, and that the Thracian Galatians often raid the Byzantine *chora*. Any attempt to interpret the literary evidence in *Polyb. 4.46.2* concerning the establishment of Tylis as a separate action in a different geographical area or as an additional remark to the historiographer's description of the misfortunes of the polis creates an artificial division between basic elements of his statement, ignoring grammatical links in the ancient Greek text (contra Lazarov or Manov in the present volume).

Among the notes in Shuckburgh's English translation of the Fourth book, published in the late nineteenth century one come across a suggestion that "Tylis is maybe the modern Kilios" (Shuckburgh 1889, 320). Today Kilyos is a suburb in the European part of Istanbul, a resort near the Black Sea coast, North of the Belgrade forest (Demoukan 1978, 250; Müller-Wiener 1994, 99; Gyuzelev 2008, 174-75, 248 with all the literary references about Phinopolis). It is known to have a "Genoese" fortress and three "Ottoman" *suterazis* (Tr. water towers) (Bildirici 2008), but there is no available evidence of pre-Roman date to confirm Shuckburgh's idea of Tylis's location around Kilyos (overview on Byzantion in Loukopoulou / Łaitar 2004, 915-18; Gyuzelev 2008, 161-77). However Shuckburgh's suggestion provides an example of interpreting the reference to the Galatian palace in a Polybian context.

## TYLENI – LOST AND FOUND IN TRANSLATION

Tyleni mentioned in the *Prologue* of book XXV of *Historiae Philippicae* by Pompeius Trogus is the only reference to Tylis in Roman and Late Roman historiography. According to the introductory content (perhaps actually a summary) in Trog. Prol. 25, the original version of book XXV contained an account of: *"ut Antigonus Gallos delevit, deinde cum Apollodoro, Cassandreae tyranno, bellum habuit. Ut Galli transierunt in Asiam bellumque cum rege Antiocho et Bithunia gesserunt: quas regiones Tyleni occuparunt. Ut Pyrrus ex Italia reversus regno Macedoniae Antigonum exuerit, Lacedaemona obsederit, Argis interierit"* (after Seel 1972; Yardley 1994 and Tomaschitz 2007, 96). The phrase in question – *"quas regiones Tyleni occuparunt"* (which regions Tyleni occupied) follows the sentence about Antigonus Gonatas' victory over a Celtic warrior group near Lysimacheia (ut Antigonus Gallos delevit) and Galatian *diabasis* to Anatolia (ut Galli transierunt in Asiam). Some researchers (Walbank 1957, 498-99; Nachtergael 1977, 169; Mitchell 1993, 14-15; Тачева 1997, 45-46) are prone to consider a direct connection between the Tyleni fragment and the reference to Tylis discussed above. Various scenarios involve the participation of tribal units under Leonnorios and Lutarios or remnants of the force defeated by Antigonus Gonatas in the establishment of the royal residence and the kingdom of the Thracian Galatians. Other scholars (Tomaschitz 2002, 140; Delev 2003, 108) however express reasonable doubts about such correlations due to lack of similarity or even direct contradictions in details of the events, described by different sources.

The authorship and date of the Prologues are uncertain. J. Yardley and W. Heckel (1997, 2) remark the fact that opening summaries are usually appended to major manuscripts of Justin, but their date most probably is later than Justin's Epitome. Nevertheless Yardley (2003, 92-93) notes that writing summaries, *"prologues"* or Livy's *Periochae* is a widespread practice in Roman historical tradition at the time of Pompeius Trogus, but rather unusual in Justin's third or fourth century AD. Therefore the *Prologues* could preserve "some of the original wording of Trogus" (Yardley 2003, 92). Tylis is not mentioned in the *Epitome* of Justin, which raises additional questions about the informative value of the Tyleni reference and the historical interpretation of the fragment.

| Trog. Prol. 25 | Iust. 25 |
|---|---|
| *ut Antigonus Gallos delevit* | Iust. 25.1.1-25.2.7. |
| *Ut Galli transierunt in Asiam, bellumque cum rege Antiocho et Bithunia gesserunt* | Iust. 25.2.8-25.2.11 |
| *quas regiones Tyleni occuparunt* | ??? |
| *ut Pyrrus ex Italia reversus regno Macedoniae Antigonum exuerit* | Iust. 25.3 |

TABLE 1. Comparison between Pompeius Trogus' Prologue of book XXV and the Epitome of Justin.

A comparison between the *Prologue* of book XXV and Justin's text reveals correlation between *ut Antigonus Gallos delevit* and *Iust. 25.1.1-25.2.7*'s information about these events. *Ut Galli transierunt in Asiam, bellumque cum rege Antiocho et Bithunia gesserunt* (how the Gauls entered Asia and waged war with King Antiochus and Bithynia) also corresponds to *Iust. 25.2.8-25.2.11.* Then in the *Epitome* there follows a narrative about Pyrrhus, which is very similar to *ut Pyrrus ex Italia reversus regno Macedoniae Antigonum exuerit* (how, on his return from Italy, Pyrrhus de-

prived Antigonus of the throne of Macedonia). It appears that *quas regiones Tyleni occuparunt* is lost in the Epitome of Justin. His work however is considered to be a summarized, abridged or inaccurate version of the original (Yardley / Heckel 1997, v, 15-25), which provides a decent explanation for such an inconsistency.

There is another important detail, which should be taken into account here. Instead of *"Tyleni"* in the codices we find *"felini"* (Nachtergael 1977, 169; Tomaschitz 2002, 140 with references), which as a substantive adjective means brigand, predator or looter. The *"Phaennis prophecy"* seems to attest similar image of Galatian chiefs as predators (Leonnorios "the lion" and Lutarios "the wolf": Gabelko 2006, 216, 218). *Quas regiones felini occuparunt* is understandable as an addition to *ut Galli transierunt in Asiam, bellumque cum rege Antiocho et Bithunia gesserunt* and the phrase corresponds to *Iust. 25.2.11: eamque regionem Gallograeciam cognominaverunt* (and they called this region Gallograecia) (commentary on Gallograecia as regards definition and usage in Rankin 1996, 101; Strobel 1996, 114, 124, 252; 2009, 118; Yardley / Heckel 1997, 28; Darbyshire et al. 2000, 83; Tomaschitz 2002, 164).

After this puzzle game with passages from Justin's Epitome we come to the conclusion – *"Tyleni"* in *Trog. Prol. 25* is probably the result of mistake, an incorrect recognition of the word in early printed editions of the manuscripts. It does not refer to the geographical location of Tylis or territories under Galatian control in Thrace, but to events in Anatolia after the Galatian settlement there.

## STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM AND THE ART OF READING NOTES FROM A NON-EXTANT DICTIONARY

A basic point of reference in the majority of both academic and popular accounts of Tylis is the latest reference to the place-name in *Ethnika* by Stephanus of Byzantium (640.20-21): Τύλις, πόλις Θρᾴκης τοῦ Αἵμου πλησίον. καὶ κλίνεται Τύλεως. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Τυλίτης ὡς Μεμφίτης (Tylis. Polis of Thrace near Haemus. And in the genitive is declined Tyleos. Ethnic name Tylites as Memphites).

The original work of Stephanus of Byzantium, a grammarian and probably a contemporary of Justinian I (527-565) is lost. The surviving epitome of *Ethnika* is composed by Hermolaus and its date is uncertain (Billerbeck 2006, 3-5; Billerbeck / Zubler 2007; Dickey 2007, 101). Contrary to Lazarov (1996b) and Manov (in the present volume), who still believe that this laconic information from the *epitome* of *Ethnika* is a guiding sign to locate Tylis (C. Jireček's *paradigm* of late 19th century), I claim that the reference in *Steph. Byz. 640.20-21* is doubtful and of overvalued credibility.

Initial and general remarks on the entry about Tylis are directed to particularly problematic definitions of polis and ethnic names in *Ethnika*. 52 different terms describe the settlements, mentioned in the lexicon and there is a tendency to add an ethnic name to every place. Variation in site classification could be explained by the main feature of the work – that it is a compilation of material from earlier writers. Overall correspondence between original texts, indicated as sources and site terms in the *epitome*, according to Whitehead's (1994, 103-06, 117, 120-23) analysis is about 60%. In a review of entries in *Ethnika* about "Thracian poleis" Archibald (2004, 890-92) reveals similar inconsistencies in site classification and raises the important question of contemporary verification by a Byzantine author "whether the places or communities mentioned by earlier writers still existed, or how regions might have changed since then". Second part of the entries in the list – the ethnonyms are considered as unreliable and treated with scepticism in recent research by Billerbeck (2006, 48-49).

Polybius is also mentioned among the sources of *Ethnika.* There are two references to his Fourth book with the phrase Πολύβιος τετάρτῳ (*Steph. Byz. 649.13* and *669.14*) but the early Byzantine lexicographer indicated books 6-40 much more than the extant books 1-5. Whitehead (1994, 113) however notes that the influence of Polybius's works on *Ethnika* is greater, than the examples of πόλις and πολίχνιον discussed in his study.

Stephanus of Byzantium described Tylis as πόλις, while Polybius's term was βασίλειον. Bearing in mind the absence of reference to Polybius's books in the later Tylis entry, is it reasonable to search for a Polybian origin for the information here?

In the *Epitome* of *Ethnika*, use of βασίλειον without πόλις is extremely rare: *Zadrame* in Arabia Felix *(Steph. Byz. 293.16).* Combination with πόλις in the entries about *Atropatia (Steph. Byz. 144.2)*, *Bizye (Steph. Byz. 169.13)* or *Byzantion (Steph. Byz. 189.12)* express the meaning of capital city, which is confirmed by their additional description: *Atropatia* as μητρόπολις and *Byzantion,* praised as "Constantinople and New Rome" *(Steph. Byz. 190.3)*. The Bizye reference puts forward a slight variation of the πόλις – βασίλειον relationship. The settlement is reported as a tribal centre (τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν βασίλειον), but the probable source of information here is Strabo or Artemidorus of Ephesus (Engels 1999, 220-22; Boshnakov 2003, 184, 190, 298-300, 309-10). Lack of correlation between Polybius's term for Tylis and the reference to Hellenistic place-names in the *Ethnika epitome* could be the result of a specific use of βασίλειον in the Early Byzantine geographical *lexicon*. Any attempt to find a logical explanation for this difference should also consider the fact that original texts were not strictly followed in later compilation of quotes and that we discuss here an epitome of a non-extant collection. Even more suspicious is the absence of Galatians in relation to Tylis, which leads to uncertainty whether *"Tylis, polis in Thrace"* is identical to the royal residence known from Polybius.

Turning again to comparison as a tool highlights another peculiarity of the epitome. The *Ethnika* does not provide details on historical events about any settlement with reference to Polybius's histories, even if such information is available in original passages, cited by Stephanus of Byzantium as his source.

The mention of Tylis in *Polyb. 4.46.2* remains the only available evidence about the place-name in books of earlier date. It seems impossible to determine the exact source of information in *Steph. Byz. 640.20-21*, but Hellenistic historiographers and Polybian tradition could be considered as options for initial data, distorted by the prism of Early Byzantine compilation and lexicon style.

Internal links in the *Ethnika* list and correspondence between the entry about Tylis with Αἶμος, ὄρος Θράκης *(Steph. Byz. 50.8-10)* bring the highly controversial topic of the mountain as a geographical indication of its location. Both πλησίον with idea of vicinity and the name Haemus in Antiquity or Early Medieval geography allow different variations in interpreting the reference (most recent review in Falileyev 2005, 108-09). It is worth mentioning here Mihailov's remarks half a century ago on defining distance and the question of proximity according to place-names or descriptions in written sources (Михайлов 1955, 154-55). The evidence in Polybius *(24.4.1)*, Strabo *(7.5.1)* and Livy *(40.21-22)* commented on by Walbank (1979, 249-50, 256-57; 1985, 193-94), Boshnakov (2003, 184-88) and Jaeger (2007) is in favour of Tacheva's suggestion (1990; 1997, 33, 56) that Haemus did not only indicate the Balkan mountain range (Stara planina). A similar concept is evident in the name of the Late Antique administrative district Haemimontus – *Procop. De aedificiis 4.11.18:* τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Αἱμίμοντον (*now called Haemimontus*). At the time of the *Ethnika* it comprised the territory of Strandzha mountain to the valleys of the Tundzha and Ergene rivers.

In an attempt to explain Haemus in the Tylis entry of the *Ethnika* and to establish a direct association between *Polyb. 4.46.2* and *Steph. Byz.* 640.20-21, Gabrielsen (2007, 323) recently suggested that the area between Perinthos and Apollonia Pontica be considered as *chora* of the Byzantines (χώρα Βυζαντίων). His main point depends on another uncertain entry in the *Ethnika* – about Astakos and the extent of Byzantine territory (*Steph. Byz.* 137.16; analysis in Gabelko 1996). It is hard to find sufficient arguments supporting such an idea of an extremely large rural area under Byzantine control (Gyuzelev 2008, 172-77), but Gabrielsen's effort to bridge the gap between the sources proposes Polybian influence on the lexicon entry and a broader meaning of Haemus, according to more reliable evidence about ancient geography in the region.

Another curious example of lexicographer's approach is the information in the *Ethnika* about *Agriai/Agrianes* (*Steph. Byz.* 21.13-23). The entry could be divided in three parts – a short geographical remark, examples of term variations in books of earlier authors and a citation of an epigram, dedicated to Pisidian Neoptolemus, containing the tribal name Agrianes. The books of Polybius and of Theopompus are cited as sources for the different versions of the ethnonym, but localization of the group "between the Haemus and the Rhodopis" is not attested in the original passages. Neoptolemus's epigram opens a whole new chapter of discussions and interpretations about the events near Tlos in Lycia and the joint military action of Agrianians and Galatians. However there is no reason to question its Hellenistic date and authenticity (detailed analysis in Barbantani 2010). Geographic description, markers and localization of *Agriai/Agrianes* (*Steph. Byz.* 21.13) remain the weakest point of the entry.

Taking into account all the problems discussed here it appears that the sceptical attitude in recent studies towards Stephanus of Byzantium's reference to Tylis is well grounded (Tomaschitz 2007, 91-92). From this stance it is easy to understand Strobel's (1996, 233) opinion that attempts to locate Tylis following the entry in the *Ethnika* were overoptimistic. Falileyev (2005, 108) in his previous onomastic search for Tylis is probably right – having other sources, which could provide different information is fortunate, but unfortunately "in this case" the reference to the place-name in the epitome of Stephanus of Byzantium's dictionary is an unreliable alternative.

## (NEW) ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTURES IN HELLENISTIC THRACE?

Following analysis of the ancient literary evidence let us examine briefly some current issues in interpreting archaeological data and in particular the finds of La Tène type in Southern Thrace. It is important here to lay emphasis on the definition and application of the term La Tène, which in the Eastern Balkans has clear typological and chronological, but rather problematic cultural meaning. It is used to describe artifacts with similarities in form, construction or decoration to contemporary types of objects in Temperate Europe (Домарадски 1984, 138-46; Theodossiev 2000 et al., 88-89; Megaw et alli 2000; Megaw 2004, 95-97; Торбов 2005; Mircheva 2007).

Attribution of the La Tène label to various groups of Late Iron Age brooches and costume elements (torques, arm- and anklet rings), weaponry, chariot fittings, horse harness, or graphite pottery discovered in the area caused sporadic minor discussions (review of the Mezek chariot applications in Megaw 2004, 96-97; 2005 and Stoyanov in the present volume; different views on "Thracian" type bilateral fibulae in Домарадски 1997; 2000; Tonkova 2002; Anastassov 2006, 16; Emilov 2007, 64). The "real trouble" and heated debate starts when ethnic interpretation of these objects comes into question. Some researchers follow the traditional culture-historical approach or migrationist explanation and consider all artifacts of La Tène type as related to "Celtic" enclaves in the region (Миков 1932/1933; Lazarov 2006; Anastassov 2006; Mac Congail 2008, 51-53 and

Manov's contribution in the present volume). The trend has clear romantic motivation, but overoptimistic attempts to (re)construct Celtic ethnicity on material evidence evolved during the last two decades as a late reaction and opposition to a normative "Thracian" interpretation of La Tène finds in Thrace (Венедиков 1955; Николов 1965; 1990; Домарадски 1997; review in Emilov 2005). *"Celtophilic"* and *"Thracophilic"* explanations however outline the margins of ethnic interpretation, while often in mainstream research "Celtic" remains a descriptive term used as a synonym for La Tène regarding the origin of a certain type of object. Various solutions to the topic of the ethnic attribution of La Tène finds in Thrace are discussed in the framework of elite exchange, booty, the function of imported La Tène items and their local imitations or modifications. The majority of these issues lead to one and the same recurring question: "Celtic product versus Celtic influence" (Megaw 2004; Theodossiev 2005; Emilov 2007).

The recent hypothesis of Mac Congail (2008, 34-55) and his definition of a new archaeological culture on numismatic ground in the Eastern Balkans – "Zarevetz" challenges the outer limits of the "Celtophilic" trend. The Irish linguist discusses the finds of La Tène type as evidence of "Celtic settlement pattern" or "Celtic culture", although a label "Celto-Getic Zarevetz culture" is also assumed (Mac Congail 2008, 50). "Zarevetz culture" comprises a large territory between the modern towns of Kazanlak, Veliko Tarnovo, Varna and Silistra (Mac Congail 2008, 44-45), but it remains unclear if the new culture is only contemporary with his "Zaravetz type" of coins at the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 2nd century BC or started with the earliest finds of La Tène $B_2$ dating in the area and lasted until the end of the pre-Roman period (Mac Congail 2008, 43, 45, 51-53).

From a theoretical and methodological point of view Mac Congail's attempt to construct a (new) archaeological culture based on coin issues in Hellenistic Thrace is completely incorrect. Concentrations of La Tène type artifacts in the area constitute one of Mac Congail's main arguments for "Celtic occupation", but he ignores the lack of settlements or structures with even the slightest similarity to the core zone of the La Tène world or its eastern periphery (general overview on regional development in North-eastern Thrace by Stoyanov 2000; 2003). In this case it is relevant to quote an observation and conclusion by V. Megaw: "There are La Tène finds, but not La Tène culture in Bulgaria" (personal communication; additional comments on the topic in Falileyev et al. 2010, 3). Woźniak's (1974, 74-138; 1975; 1976) term Padea-Panagiurski Kolonii refers to regional typological features of a group of finds in Eastern Balkans, dated to 2nd-1st century BC, not to a cultural entity or archaeological culture.

## SEUTHOPOLIS – A CASE STUDY

The previous paragraphs could be regarded as long preliminary notes to an analysis of La Tène finds in Seuthopolis and Philippopolis. An attempt will be made here to explore the data according to available information about its context. The selection of sites is not a subjective choice, but reflects the current stage of research and objective limitations to examine not only typological features of La Tène artifacts from Southern Thrace, but also details about their associations and specific place in the archaeological record (recent discussion on the problems, related to context and interpretation of the "Plastic" style chariot applications from Mal tepe tomb near Mezek in Megaw 2004; 2005; Stoyanov 2005; Emilov 2007; Stoyanov in the present volume and Эмилов in print).

Double-spring fibulae in Seuthopolis and adjacent tumuli represent about 1/3 (36,7 %) of the overall number of brooches discovered in the Hellenistic urban center on the Upper Tonzos River and its close vicinity (Огненова-Маринова 1984, 160-63; Домарадски 1991, 135). Other objects

with La Tène construction or decoration in fortified settlement include bronze rings (Огненова-Маринова 1984, 180-81, figs. 5-6), elements of iron chain belts (Огненова-Маринова 1984, 205; Домарадски 1984, 141, fig. 46) and fragments of graphite pottery (Чичикова 1984, 52-53, fig. 24). The general picture of La Tène $B_2$-$C_1$ artefacts in the area is complemented by grave finds from the surroundings of Seuthopolis such as a pair of golden fibulae with functional and decorative bilateral springs (Woźniak 1975, 182, taf. I/9,10; 1976, 391, fig. 3/1,4 ; Dimitrov / Čičikova 1978, 54, fig. 91), an iron sword (Гетов 1962; Домарадски 1983, 41-42; 1984, 133-34, fig. 37; 1991, 131) and several bronze and iron La Tène $C_1$ brooches (Гетов 1972; Лилова 1991, 53). Available information on stratigraphic position of the double spring fibulae shows the following general distribution: 11 of the items are discovered in the uppermost layers (depth 0.0 – 0.4 m), 13 are positioned

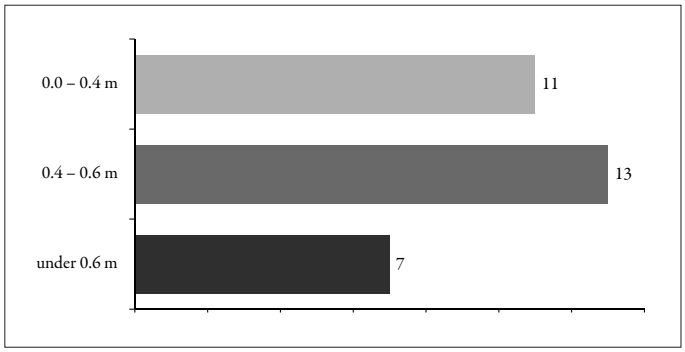


TABLE 2. Stratigraphic distribution of La Tène type of brooches according to depth of their find spots.

in the lower strata (0.4 – 0.6), dated to the latest period of Hellenistic habitation, and 7 correspond to layers under 0.6 m (Огненова-Маринова 1984, 176-77; Домарадски 1991, 135-36; overview on Seuthopolis stratigraphy in Димитров 1984a, 12; Попов 2002, 123-24; and most recently in Стоянов 2006 and Nankov 2008; amphora stamps dating revised in Balkanska / Tzochev 2008).

Find spots in the horizontal plan are houses 1, 5, 9, in the area between 10 and 11, at the agora and streets west of it, and on the main street leading to the South-western Gate. Parts of such artifacts are discovered near the entrance to the citadel and the find spot of one item is near the northern wall of the monumental building there (Огненова-Маринова 1984, 176-77; Домарадски 1991, 135-36; Emilov 2007, 60-61).

Re-examination of data confirms Ognenova's conclusion that double spring fibulae are contemporary to the so-called "Thracian type" and that some of the artefacts with La Tène construction were produced in a local workshop, unfortunately not located archaeologically during the salvage excavations of the urban centre (commentary in Домарадски 1984; 1991; Стоянов 2006; Emilov 2007). The stratigraphic position of the artefacts and their typological features also support the suggestion that import of a small number of La Tène *prototypes*, modification and imitation of the forms and their incorporation in a local milieu started prior to Seuthopolis's destruction.

The discovery of finds like La Tène type jewelery and the graphite pottery sherds in the spirit of migrationist interpretation is incontestable evidence of Celtic settlement or occupation (Mac Congail 2008, 58, 69 and Manov in the present volume), while the opposing evolutionist trend lays emphasis on changing fashions and the diffusion of cultural traits (elaborate version about the brooches in Măndescu 2007).

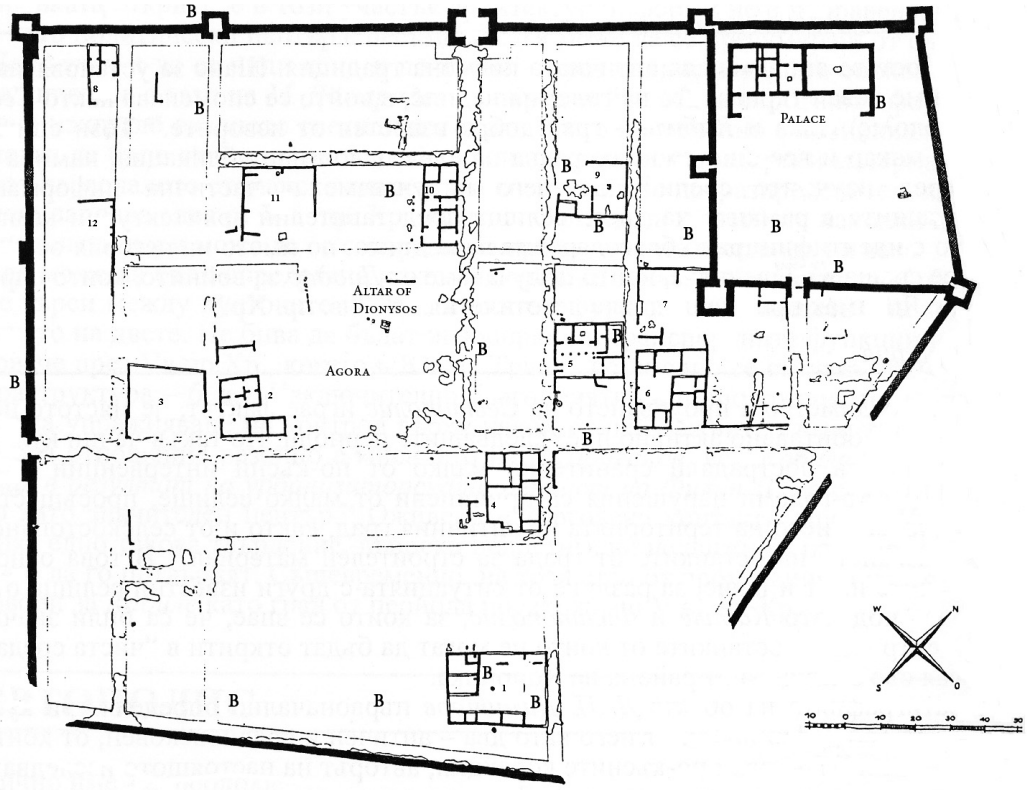


Figure 2. Spatial distribution of La Tène type of brooches in Seuthopolis (both fragments and intact items marked with B (bilateral fibulae), adapted by the author after Dimitrov / Čičikova 1978, fig. 3).

| Огненова - Маринова 1984: | Find spot | Relative date by typological features | Dating in the 3rd century BC |
|---|---|---|---|
| #75 | House #1 | La Tène $B_2$<br>La Tène $B_2/C_1$ | end of the 1st-2nd quarter |
| #74 | street | La Tène $B_2/C_1$ | 2nd quarter |
| #81 | West of house #11 | La Tène $B_2/C_1$ | 2nd quarter – middle |
| #76 | Yard of the citadel | La Tène $B_2/C_1$<br>La Tène $C_1$ | middle |

Table 3. Notes on context and dating of some La Tène types brooches in Seuthopolis (after Огненова-Маринова 1984).

Debates on the chronology of the urban centre on the Upper Tonzos and attempts to find a logical and historically based explanation about the end of the Odrysian capital lead towards the hypothesis of invading Celts sacking Seuthopolis who were responsible also for the decay of the fortified settlement (Чичикова 1984, 18; 1991, 67; Cunliffe 1997, 172; Webber 2001, 12; Megaw 2005, 209; Bouzek 2005, 99; 2007, 76-77; Mac Congail 2008). There is however no evidence in favour of such a scenario and it seems implausible that Thracian Galatians are the ones to blame for

the collapse of the urban centre (Тачева 1986; 1997, 23-26; Домарадски 1991, 136; Delev 2003, 111; Стоянов 2006; Emilov 2007, 61-62; Nankov 2008; Эмилов, in print).

Grave structures and inventories in the vicinity of Seuthopolis reveal the specific place of La Tène elements as an essential part of the costume among a group, which at the same time (the second and third quarter of the 3rd century BC) followed the Hellenistic manner of status expressions and group identity. The features of such multiculturalism are evident in the context and associations of a pair of golden bilateral fibulae in tumulus #2, secondary brick grave A near the urban center (Чичикова 1957, 134-35, fig. 2, 3; Домарадски 1984, 124, fig. 43; Димитров 1984b, 35-36; Megaw 2004, fig. 10; **fig. 3** here below) as well as of La Tène $C_1$ brooches in tumulus #5 near Dolno Sahrane (Гетов 1972) with single loop fibulae of "Thracian type", local pottery and weapons. Both

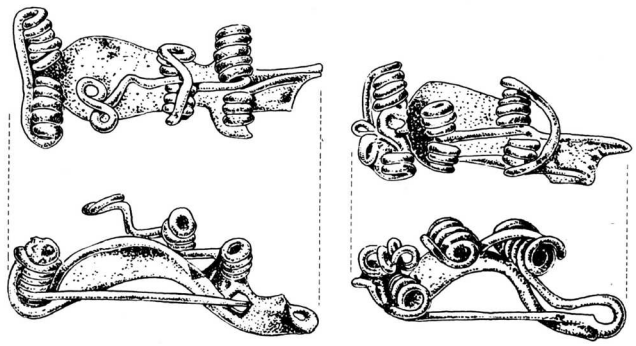

FIGURE 3. Golden fibulae from secondary brick grave A of tumulus #2 near Seuthopolis (scale 1:1, after Wozniak 1975).

sites and the slightly later inventory with a pair of silver La Tène $C_1/C_2$ fibulae from Kran, published by Popov (1929), show variations between male and female costume and paraphernalia, but also illustrate the slippery basis, composed on controversial evidence for any modern attempt to interpret ethnically La Tène finds in Thrace without reconsideration of their context.

The deep grave pit of a flat grave with La Tène $C_1$ sword and Macedonian type of helmet near Kazanlak presents the only potential exception in this pattern. Getov's (1962) information about a simple pit 1.4 m deep, without any additional construction or intentional deformation of weaponry leads Domaradski (1983, 42) to the assumption that "these features are unusual in Thracian burial practices", so "the grave near Kazanlak is probably related to the Celts" (additional comments in Домарадски 1984, 133-34; 1991, 131 and Megaw 2004, 103). There are however cases of the deliberate deformation of weaponry in ancient Thrace prior to the Hellenistic period and the Celtic expansion into the Balkans (Theodossiev 2000, 69-70 with reference to sites and ancient sources), so it is dubious whether any deformed weapon of La Tène type in Thrace should be attributed to Thracian Galatians (contra Anastassov 2007, 173). "Unusual" flat grave dimensions and inventory with La Tène $C_1$ sword, discovered on the northern periphery of the modern town of Kazanlak on the other hand have no similarity with Early and Middle Hellenistic burial sites in the Upper Tonzos region, but could be seen as analogous to inhumation graves in 1 to 2.20 m deep pits, registered in the eastern parts of the La Tène zone (Szabó 1992, 27-28), in the territories of the Scordisci (Todorović 1968, 17; 1974, 55-56; Jacanović 1992; Jovanović 1992, 21-25; overview on "Skordiskian burials" and flat graves in North-western Thrace in Theodossiev 2000, 41, 44-45

with references) or to warrior burials in pits among the Transilvanian Celts (Rustoiu 2008, 13-18, 45-49).

Important questions on the form and filling of the pit, the exact position of the weaponry in the grave, or additional details concerning mortuary practice remain without answer due to lack of archaeological observations during its discovery (Getov, personal communication; Домарадски 1984, 133). Nevertheless if available information about the context of inventory and this "uncommon" grave structure in Southern Thrace is treated as accurate, it could be considered to be a hint of the different (not local) origin of the deceased there.

Bearing in mind the hazards in definition of "dominant" archaeological features and the (re)construction of ethnic identity on the basis of material remains as a relative and rather subjective matter at the current level of exploration, the idea of Galatian mercenaries in the vicinity of Seuthopolis is just a speculation, based on a single grave and images of warriors with elongated shields from the dromos of the Kazanlak tomb (overview in Emilov 2007, 61). There is no evidence to suggest a direct link between the activity of the Galatian contingent (?) in the Upper Tonzos region and the Thracian Galatians under Komontorios and Kavaros, known from the written sources. It is also doubtful whether Galatians under the control of the rulers of Tylis were the only Galatian group in Thrace. This topic is an appropriate occasion to recall here an old but still reasonable idea of Mitchell (1993, 15; originally in his D.Phil. thesis, cited by Nixon 1977, 9) about some aspects of Galatian migrations to the Balkans and Anatolia – "their aim was not to land or settle, but money and booty, which could be acquired in a variety of ways: by hiring out their services as mercenaries, by demanding protection money from rulers, whose land they were in position to ravage, by attacking wealthy cities or sanctuaries, and by ravaging the countryside." The mobility of these groups in the Eastern Balkans, rather than a short-term "Celtic presence in Thrace", which "lasted only two generations" (Cunliffe 1997, 173) could better explain our current difficulties in the archaeological recognition of Thracian Galatians (discussion on the mercenary activities and on their reflections in grave inventories after the "Great expedition" to the Balkans in Rustoiu 2008).

## PHILIPPOPOLIS TUMULUS #1 OR SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE LIMITS OF "HELLENIZATION" AND "LATENIZATION"

Grave finds in a tumulus of the Hellenistic necropolis of Philippopolis once again raise the question of "how far aspects of material culture may be equated with individual identities or ethnicity" (Megaw 2004, 103). Archaeological exploration of the Hellenistic urban center in the middle course of the Hebros river is considerably limited by modern urbanization on the site (review of results of the excavations and data analysis in Домарадски 1998, 22-29; Попов 2002, 93-111; 2005;

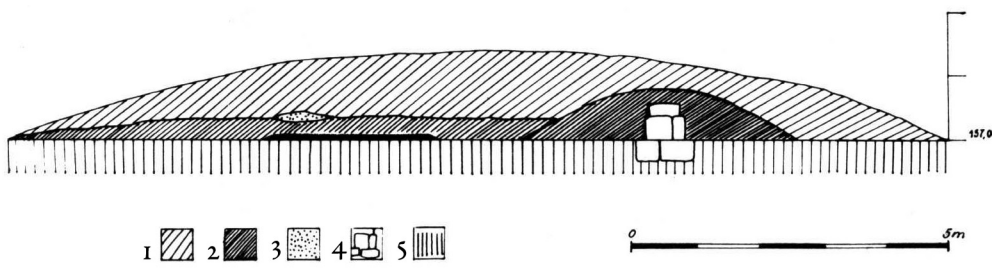


FIGURE 4. Cross-section N-S of Philippopolis tumulus #1 (after Боспачиева 1995).
1. Tumular embankment 2. Pile over the grave construction 3. Funeral pyre
4. Stone-built grave construction 5. Primary terrain.

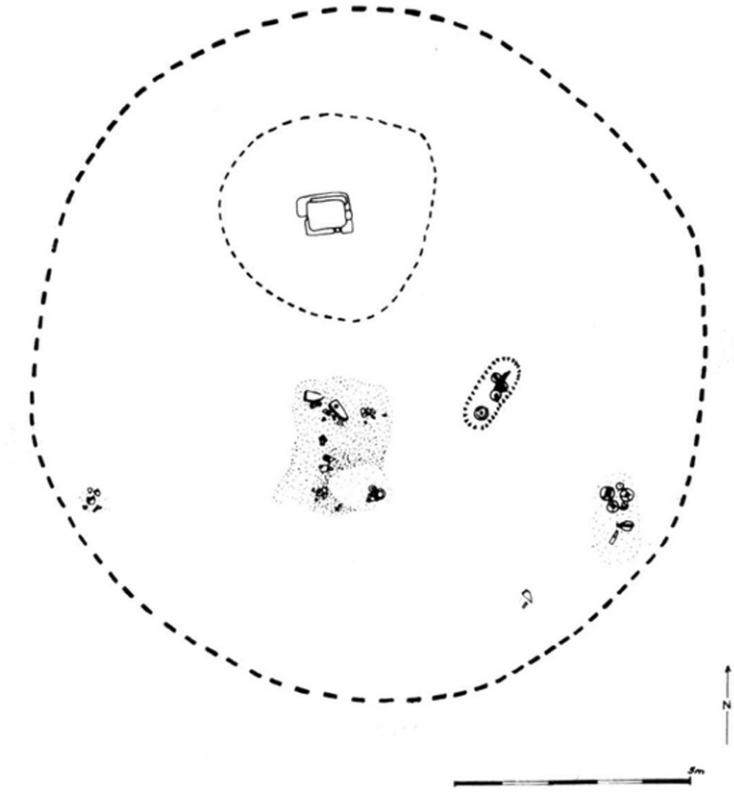

FIGURE 5. Horizontal plan of Philippopolis tumulus #1 (after Боспачиева 1995).

Стоянова 2002, 302-13; Popov 2000; Kolarova / Bospachieva 2005; Bospachieva 2005). The only available information about La Tène finds there comes from the investigation of tumulus #1 in the Hellenistic necropolis of Philippopolis (Боспачиева 1995; Koleva et al. 2000, 114-21). A bronze brooch with a decorative bilateral spring on its foot was discovered together with cremated human bones in a stone cist, while parts of a deliberately deformed La Tène sword and scabbard are found among the remains of the funeral pyre in association with spearheads, a lamp and a pottery set of local and imported vessels (Боспачиева 1995, 46-58; Koleva et alii 2000, 114-16; Bouzek 2005, 96). A pair of black-glazed *kantharoi* with "West slope" decoration and its analogies points to dating finds from the pyre to about the middle of the 3rd century BC (Боспачиева 1995, 56-57; Rotroff 1997, 84-85, fig. 5-6; Божкова 2002, 390; Bozhkova 2005; Bouzek 2005, 97). In chronological terms the *pyre* and the stone cist grave in tumulus # 1 near Philippopolis are contemporary with the secondary brick grave A of tumulus #2 in the vicinity of Seuthopolis.

Ethnic interpretation of the data in the primary publication is "grave of a warrior from Philippopolis", which reflects the "complicated political and economic situation" in Thrace during the pre-Roman period as well as "the overlay of Hellenic and La Tène" influences in the "material culture and traditions of local population" (Боспачиева 1995, 58). Bouzek (2005, 96) is in favour of a more "Celtic" answer, laying emphasis on La Tène weaponry and the brooch as markers of ethnicity. He explains the combination of "Celtic weapons with local pottery", the stone masonry construction of the cist and burial under tumulus by the ability and tendency of the Celts, who penetrated southwards to adapt to local conditions. The Czech archaeologist also mentions Thracians

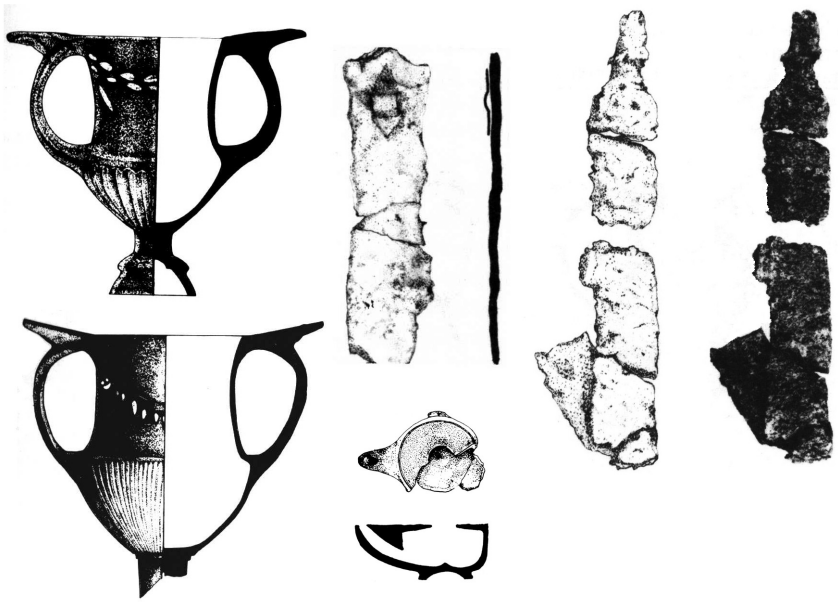

FIGURE 6. Some finds from the funeral pyre in Philippopolis tumulus #1 (various scale; after Боспачиева 1995).

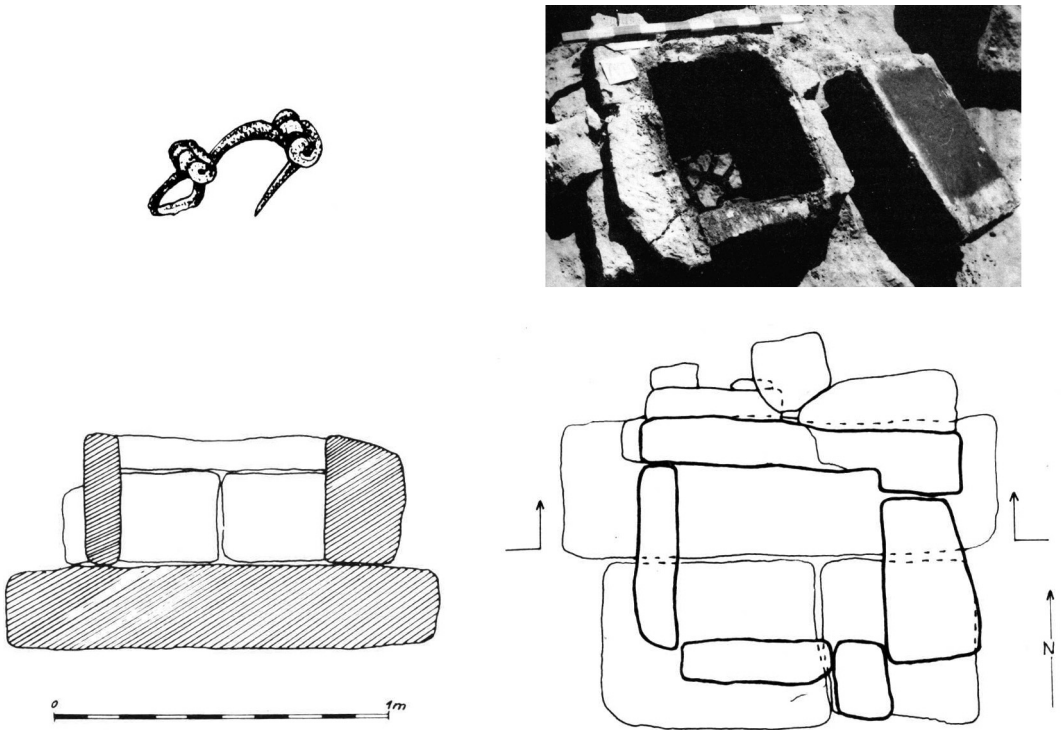


FIGURE 7. Stone-build grave construction and La Tène type of fibula in Philippopolis tumulus #1 (after Боспачиева 1995).

"joining Celtic bands during their campaign", but in the end refers to uncertainty about defining the ethnicity of individual warriors.

The final remark on the topic goes to Džino (2007, 59) and his concept of rising new identities and the phenomenon of "becoming a Celt" in South-eastern Europe. The citation below is his general conclusion about Central and Eastern Thrace, but fits well with the archaeological situation in the tumulus near Philippopolis, which could reflect interaction between "Hellenization" and "Latenization" as "global culture-restructuring processes affecting indigenous communities". "It appears as another example of hybrid identity that was influenced by the warrior ethos and cultural aesthetics that symbolized the ethos of Temperate Europe, negotiated with the existing indigenous cultural *habitus*. The 'Celts' in Southeastern Europe were not necessarily an entirely different and foreign 'ethnic element' or *'stratum'*, but the same people with a different way of expressing identity." Džino's criticism of the migrationist "Brennus model", static perception of ethnicity or "ethnogenesis framework" of explanation is well grounded, but following his concept of hybridization we face the risk of "Celticizing" high status *personae* (male and female) in the region or at least the warriors with La Tène type swords, because they "adopted" weapons or modified the popular La Tène form of jewelery, which in the archaeological record could be interpreted as a sign of transformation into "new" Celts with hybrid ethnicity (reconsiderations on the warriors as identity model in Rustoiu 2008, 90-98, 208).

Returning to the starting point about Tylis it should be noted that searching for a static political entity of Thracian Galatians and Celtic enclaves in the area, on the basis of archaeological finds, not archaeological contexts is a task, similar to constructing new historical hypotheses on scanty, ambivalent or misleading references in ancient written sources. Tylis[1] and the Galatians in Thrace are certainly not forgotten, but 120 years since the beginning of modern research on the topic they are still elusive.

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[1] Tile Ridge in Dryanovo Heights, Greenwich Island, Antarctica is named after the ancient Tylis.

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# In Search of Tyle (Tylis). Problems of Localization

Metodi Manov

In the course of the last few years some new archaeological and numismatic artifacts have been revealed. They date from the La Tène period and come from present day Bulgaria thus increasing the possibilities for the localization of the core and territorial extent of the Celtic Kingdom in Thrace. Its establishment and existence in the 3rd c. BC is clearly described mainly in the historical work of Polybius.

The place and the role of the Celtic state founded about 277 BC in Thrace by one of the leaders of the Celtic forces, Comontorius, still excites rather sharp disputes in contemporary historiography. The view established by eminent scholars for about a century long localized this state within the hinterland of Byzantium (Домарадски 1984, 81, 87, 152; Тачева 1987, 31). Nevertheless, this has recently begun to be significantly revised on the grounds of securely dated archaeological material discovered in present day Bulgaria, as well as on the grounds of well documented, precisely localized and dated numismatic pieces (Lazarov 1993, 3-22; Лазаров 1996a, 73-86; Лазаров 1996b, 92-96). Combined with cautious consideration of the scanty data from the written sources, the new investigation must indicate some new lines of research concerning the existence of a Celtic state in Thrace that was comparatively strong militarily, politically and economically.

The records of the ancient authors concerning a mighty Celtic invasion of the Balkans in 279-277 BC have been interpreted over and over again in the already vast literature on this issue (Лазаров 1996a, 73-86, with bibliography). However, the narrative of Polybius concerning the establishment of a Celtic Kingdom in Thrace, although rather laconic, appears to be of the greatest importance for our thesis. According to him, after the battle at Lysimacheia in 277 BC, quite unfortunate for the Celts who were defeated by the Macedonian ruler Antigonus Gonatas (277-239 BC), the Celtic military contingents led by Comontorius turned towards the Thracians, crushed them and established a state with a capital town of Tyle, their presence in Thrace putting Byzantium in jeopardy (Polyb. IV.46.2).

Considering this story narrated by Polybius briefly, many contemporary authors have continued to look for the Celtic capital town of Tyle "somewhere very close to Byzantium..." (Домарадски 1984, 81, 87, 152; Тачева 1987, 31). Yet they do not have any other arguments available for this hypothetical localization of the Celtic state and its capital town, such as for example some rich La Tène archaeological material or profuse circulation of Celtic coins in the area they have determined for the Celtic Kingdom with Tyle as its centre. On the other hand, we still do not yet have any definite answer to the question of exactly which Thracians the army of Comontorius defeated? In addition, some inadequate solutions to this problem have been proposed based mainly on the supposition that Tyle must have been localized in the immediate vicinity of Byzantium. Therefore, the Thracian tribes defeated by the Celts have been sought somewhere around the southern slopes of Strandzha Mountain (Тачева 1987, 31; Домарадски 1993, 276). It has also been suggested that Stephanus Byzantius probably confused Strandzha with Haemus as the denomination Haemimontus appeared comparatively late, and in Late Antiquity it was associated with Strandzha (Домарадски 1984, 81; Тачева 1987, 31; Домарадски 1993, 276). Nevertheless, Stephanus

Byzantius was an excellently informed lexicographer, and it seems unlikely that he would mistake a rather well known geographical denomination. For that reason I think we have to pay much greater consideration to the record of Stephanus Byzantius who specifically indicates that "Tyle is a town in Thrace, [lying] close to Haemus" (Steph. Byz. 640.20).

The search for and the proper localization of Tyle, the capital town of the Celtic Kingdom, require a couple of basic items. Firstly, we have to analyze carefully the laconic information of Polybius and Stephanus Byzantius (and of Suidas' Lexicon too), and equally we must not ignore the very short description of the site of the castellum Touleous (Τουλεοῦς) by Procopius (Proc. *De aed.* 4.11) (Detschew 1976, 516). The search will produce a reliable result if we make it within the context of the political events afoot in ancient Thrace throughout the entire 3rd c. BC. In other words, should we manage to solve successfully the historical puzzle between 281/279 BC and 218 BC then the localization of Tyle will become much easier.

From a purely linguistic point of view, we have today three toponyms that sound similar. The first two of them are undoubtedly identical – Τύλη in Polybius (Detschew 1976, 528), and Τύλις in Stephanus Byzantius (Detschew 1976, 528) – i.e. both authors refer to the same ancient settlement. Concerning the third toponym, Τουλεοῦς, mentioned as a castellum between Pizus and Arzus, for the present we can make only hazard guesswork.

However, let us explore the political milieu in Thrace about the time of Lysimachus' death in 281 BC, and the battle at Lysimacheia in 277 BC between the army of Antigonus Gonatas and some of the Celtic hordes who invaded the Balkan Peninsula between 279 and 277 BC. This way we can probably identify more correctly the Thracians defeated by the forces of Comontorius. It seems unlikely that they were some insignificant Thracian tribes at the southern foot of Strandzha.

We can definitely say that during the last three decades of the 4th c. BC and the initial two decades of the 3rd c. BC two dynastic centres developed in Thrace located close to one another and in a state of rivalry. One of these dynastic centres is adequately attested by the data from the ancient authors, by archaeological research including plentiful numismatic material, as well as by epigraphic documentation of high evidential value even though slender in volume. The Thracian ruler Seuthes III established this political centre in about the 330s BC. His residence was transformed into a town following the Hellenistic pattern, and following the vogue launched by the Diadochi of Alexander it bore the name of its founder – Seuthopolis. Matching the data produced by archaeological research and epigraphic material discovered in Seuthopolis and elucidating the relationship between the dynasty of Seuthes III and the Thracian dynasty ruling at the same time in the other political centre of Cabyle with the Thracian ruler Spartocus as its most pronounced representative, gives us the opportunity to fix the death of Seuthes III and the end of his reign about the late 4th or early 3rd c. BC (Манов 1998, 8-15). This dating was recently supported by the fabulous new discoveries in the Golyama Kosmatka tumulus next to Kazanlak as it proved to be the tomb proper of Seuthes III (Китов 2005). Two silver vessels inscribed with the name of the king, and also an inscription with his name upon a bronze helmet of a Chalcidic type (Manov 2006, 27-34), as well as a bronze portrait head of Seuthes III himself from a huge mounted statue of him (Manov 2008, 33-46) undoubtedly substantiate the identification.

The large inscription from Seuthopolis which has long been known reveals that after the death of Seuthes III, his wife Berenice, together with her four sons, probably continued to reign for some time in this political centre. Except for this inscription, we do not have any other data available to determine how long and to what extent the dynasty in Seuthopolis remained in power. It seems that it sank into political isolation and its functions were already abating as the impera-

FIGURE 1. A silver tetradrachm of the Thracian ruler Scostocus, minted in Aenus.

FIGURE 2. A silver tetradrachm of Antigonus Gonatas (277-239 BC) of the Alexander type.

tive nature of Spartocus' demands in the inscription demonstrates that he had already gained superiority over the heirs of Seuthes III (Манов 1998, 8-15). Furthermore, the numismatic materials show that in Cabyle Spartocus even managed to mint an issue of bronze coins with his royal title which have reasonably been dated to between 281 and 277 BC (Манов 1999a, 13-19 with bibliography) – for the uneasy situation in the region after the death of Lysimachus, and precisely for the Celtic invasion. After 277 BC yet another Thracian ruler, Scostocus, evidently an heir of Spartocus, resided probably in Cabyle. We have his silver tetradrachms (**fig. 1**) and drachms minted in Aenus (Юрукова 1992, 125), as his tetradrachms occur symptomatically alongside the earliest issues of Antigonus Gonatas of the Alexander type (**fig. 2**) in the coin hoard from Plovdiv (Герасимов 1940-42, 93-106; Юрукова 1992, 115-125; Димитров 1984, 57-81). Even if the coins of Antigonus Gonatas are to be dated a bit later than the battle at Lysimacheia, considering that some scholars have recently assigned them to 273-271 BC (Юрукова 1992, 115-125), their hoarding together with Scostocus' tetradrachms may still suggest some probable further allied relationship between the Thracian and the Macedonian rulers. We can suppose that Skostokos with his army also took part in the battle at Lysimacheia in 277 BC as an ally of Antigonus Gonatas, and returned triumphantly to Cabyle (Манов 1999b, 32-33). Given that one of the Thracian dynastic centres was stable at that time – about 277 BC, then it seems that the Celts of Comontorius turned north – northwest, assaulted the Seuthopolis dynasty, already weakened and in political isolation, and seizing the Thracian town, probably transformed it into a political centre of their own calling it by the Celtic name of Tyle (**fig. 3**). Some circumstantial evidence can back up this hypothesis – a series of Celtic artifacts from Seuthopolis itself such as for instance La Tène bilateral fibulae first noted by L. Lazarov (Лазаров 1996, 77). The area of Seuthopolis has also produced some Celtic artefacts such as the Celtic helmet from Kazanlak (Гетов 1962, 41-43; Лазаров 1996, 77), some jewels, fibulae and torques from Sahrane and Kran, Kazanlak region (Лазаров 1996, 77 with bibliography). The gold fibula of Celtic type, the silver gilt cone-shaped phiale and the silver torque, recently discovered by the team of the late George Kitov in Sashova Mogila near Shipka, Kazanlak region (Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 240b, 240c, 240d) (**figs. 4, 5, 6**), although dated to the 2nd c. BC seem to testify clearly to a settled Celtic enclave. Within the same context we have to consider the materials from the Fomus Tumulus also near Shipka, Kazanlak region. The iron sword of La Tène type, the iron umbo, two round bronze fibulae, and three torques found in a warrior's grave there (Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 241c, 241d, 241e) (**figs. 7, 8, 9**), dating from the 2nd c. BC, definitely belong to the Celtic type.

Therefore, I would like to submit once again my theory concerning the possible reconstruction of the historical events in Thrace about the mid 3rd c. BC. We can already accept that the main reason for the military campaign of the Syrian Hellenistic ruler Antiochus II in Thrace,

Figure 3. A possible route of the Celts into Thrace after the battle at Lysimacheia in 277 BC.

starting from the springboard in Lysimacheia, was the expansive policy of the newly established Celtic Kingdom. Its most prominent ruler mentioned explicitly by Polybius a couple of times, was Cavarus. About the mid 3rd c. BC Cavarus launched a mighty offensive against the Thracian dynasty in Cabyle since this Thracian royal residence remained the final obstacle to imposing a certain tax dependency on the rich Greek colonies along the western coast of the Euxinus Pontus – Apollonia, Mesambria, Odessus, and Dionysopolis. It has already been adequately proved that a great share of the sizable series of tetradrachms issued by the three latter colonies, as well as the issues of gold staters of Odessus and Mesambria were actually appropriated to pay a tribute to the Celtic ruler Cavarus (Карайотов 1996, 10-14; Русева 2006, 37 with note 18).

I would like here again to pay attention to the hypothesis that Seuthopolis may have been the initial capital town of the Celts of Comontorius. I believe that the doom of Seuthopolis has to be considered in this very context. It has already been accepted that Seuthopolis was seized and ruined about the mid 3rd c. BC (Тачева 1987, 23), and yet the probable true cause for the destruction of this ancient Thracian town was not found until recently. M. Tacheva supposed that the collapse of Seuthopolis was provoked by the presence of Antiochus II in Thrace. According to her it was the Syrian ruler who destroyed the town as his campaign in Thrace was against the Odrysae, and against the Thracians in general. Furthermore, on the grounds of a couple of coins of Adaeus discovered in Seuthopolis she presumed that Antiochus II was an enemy of Adaeus, and pursued him as far as this Thracian town to execute him there. These hypotheses of M. Tacheva cannot be supported by any known data however, not least because they contradict the records of Polyaenus. Thus the only possible reason for the town of Seuthopolis to be captured and destroyed by the army of Antiochus II seems to presume that in the mid 3rd c. BC the town was a citadel of the Seleucid

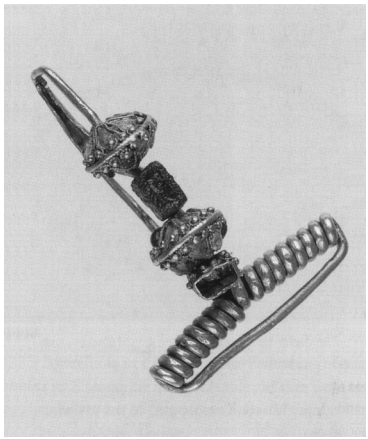

FIGURE 4. A gold fibula of Celtic type, from Sashova Tumulus near Shipka, Kazanlak region (after Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 240b).

FIGURE 5. A silver gilt cone-shaped phiale from Sashova Tumulus (after Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 240 c).

FIGURE 6. A silver torque from Sashova Tumulus (after Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 240d).

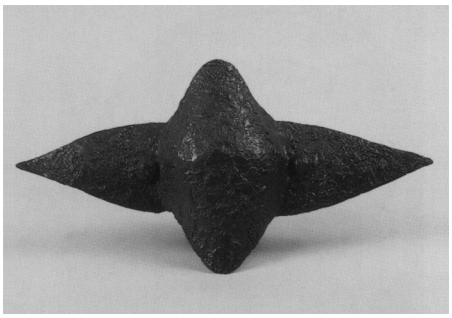

FIGURE 7. An iron umbo, found in a warrior's grave in the Fomus Tumulus near Shipka, Kazanlak region (after Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 241c).

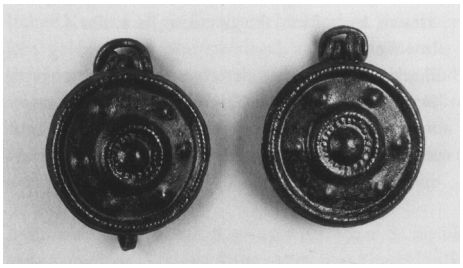

FIGURE 8. Two round bronze fibulae from Fomus Tumulus (after Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 241d).

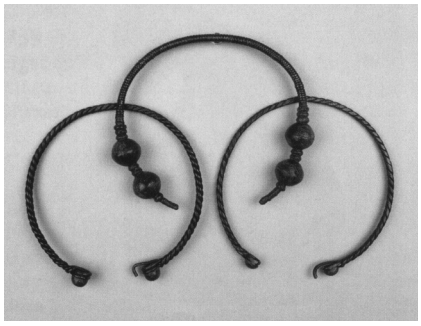

FIGURE 9. Three bronze torques from Fomus Tumulus (after Die Thraker 2004, Abb. 241e).

Figure 10. Possible routes of the armies of Antiochus II Theos and his strategus Adaeus against the Celts of Cavarus in Thrace (ca. 253-252 BC).

ruler's enemies which could be Celts alone rather than Thracians. Therefore why do we not consider the possibility of Seuthopolis, with all its long documented and yet largely undiscussed La Tène, i.e. Celtic archaeological artefacts, turning out to be Tyle – the Capital town of the Celts, lying "close to Haemus" according to the plain record of Stephanus Byzantius (Steph. Byz. 640.20), and searched for by dozens of explorers? I think this might be a reasonable explanation for the destruction of the ancient town next to present day Kazanlak. The site – if we succeed in proving definitely that it was the capital of Tyle, was chosen quite aptly for a political centre of the Celtic state in Thrace on account of its natural defence by the surrounding mountains, as well as its appropriate position to control a series of strategic roads – the ones through the Balkan Mountain passes, and the one along the sub-Balkan fields reaching as far as the south of the valley of the Maritsa River (Hebros) and from there on the road to Byzantium. Furthermore, the proximity to the other major dynastic centre of the same time, Cabyle, was also of great importance.

Analyzing some of the numismatic material discovered in Seuthopolis and Cabyle, and the coins of Adaeus and Antiochus II in particular, the author of the present paper puts forward the hypothesis that the campaign of Antiochus II in Thrace followed two directions. A part of the army led probably by the strategus of Antiochus II in Southeastern Thrace, Adaeus, advanced to Seuthopolis. The main contingent of the army led by the Syrian king himself launched an attack on the Celts of the new Celtic ruler Cavarus. As a result of this battle the army of Cavarus was banished from Cabyle to look for some refuge to the north of Haemus, in the region of the present day peak of Arkovna (Манов 1999b, 47) (**fig. 10**).

FIGURE 11. A tetradrachm of the Celtic ruler Cavarus struck in Cabyle.

FIGURE 12. A bronze coin of Cavarus.

FIGURE 13. An autonomous tetradrachm of the Alexander type struck in Cabyle.

I have already explored in detail the reason why the fortress on the peak of Arkovna was transformed at a certain moment into the main residence of Cavarus. In this case we may describe it provisionally as Tyle II (Манов 1999b, 47 with bibl.). Obviously, the Celtic ruler retreated from Cabyle temporarily before the army of Antiochus II. At any rate, Cavarus regained his control over Cabyle later, after the army of the Syrian ruler withdrew, certainly after his death in 246 BC, perhaps even after the death of Adaeus, strategus of Antiochus II Theos in South-eastern Thrace, in 240 BC (Манов 1999b, 52). Quite naturally, he took advantage of the mint of this town to issue his tetradrachms (**fig. 11**), as well as his bronze coins (**fig. 12**) (Манов 1999b, 52-53). I have particularly noted that we should not take the tetradrachms of Cavarus struck in Cabyle only as a tax liability on behalf of Cabyle, but also as a token of propagandizing the legitimate and political status of the Celtic ruler (Манов 1999b, 53). To pay the tribute to Cavarus they instead used the autonomous tetradrachms of the Alexander type also struck in Cabyle (**fig. 13**).

Following the standard discussions on the Celts in Thrace, future investigations must make greater efforts to fix more precisely the place and the role of the Celtic state in Thrace. Although it only existed for about 60 years during the 3rd c. BC, it left behind some enduring traces in the history of the southeastern region of the Balkan Peninsula. Finally the Thracians destroyed it in 218 BC, just a year or two after the well-known conflict between Byzantium and Rhodes described by the ancient authors (Polyb. IV.46-48; VI.52) which dated from 220-219 BC, with Cavarus playing the specious role of a peace negotiator in settling down the controversy. In the detailed report of Polybius concerning these events we can sense the real motive for Cavarus's interference in this

quarrel – to receive his tax from Byzantium (Манов 1999b, 53). It seems that Byzantium preferred the lesser evil, and helped the Thracians destroy the Celtic Kingdom. A probable echo of these events appears to be the report concerning the migration of the Celtic tribe of Aegosages from Thrace to Asia Minor in 218 BC precisely (Кацаров 1919, 72 with bibl.; Домарадски 1993, 276).

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# The Celtic Tylite State in the Time of Cavarus

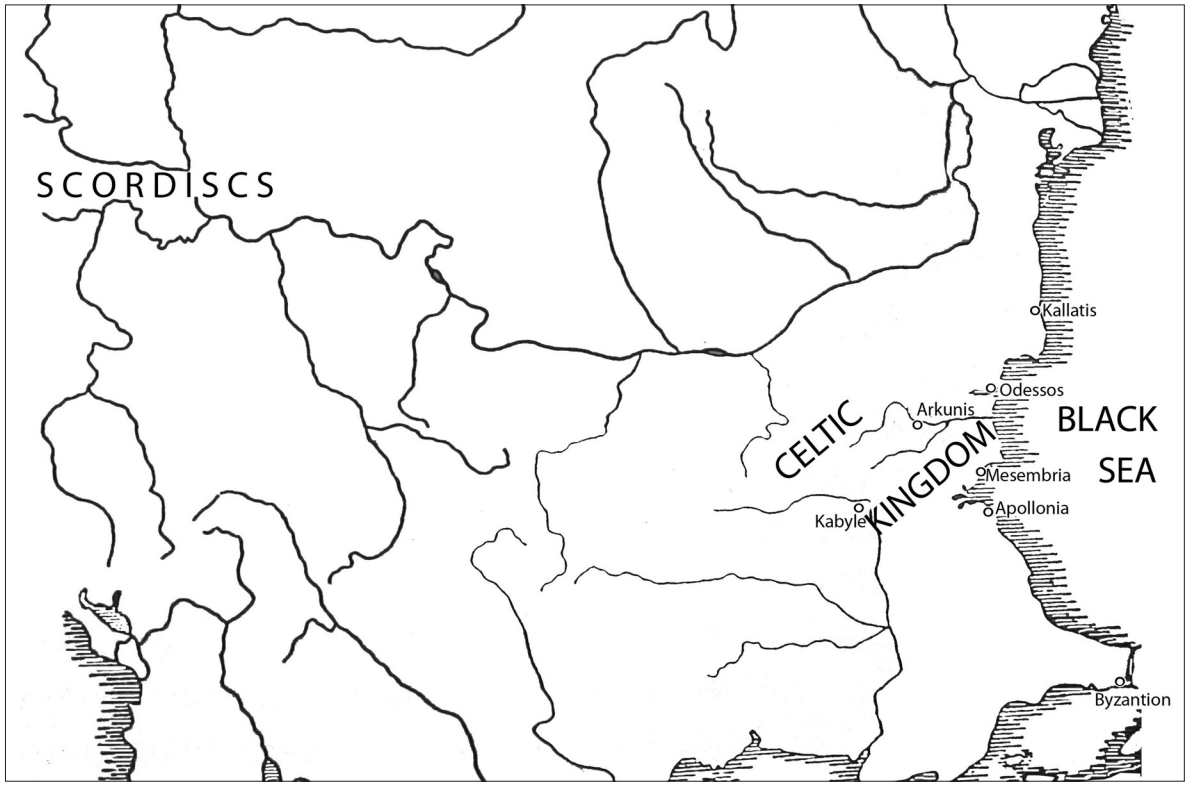
Lachezar Lazarov

In the years since 1993, I have substantiated my opinion about the existence of a major Celtic kingdom in the time of Cavarus (as well as before him), with its core territories on both sides of the Eastern Balkan Range (in the present day regions of Varna, Shumen, Burgas and Sliven; see **map 1**). Under the last Celtic ruler, it was the primary political and military force in the eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula and held suzerainty over and collected tribute from the neighbouring Odessos, Mesambria, and Kabyle, and even from the considerably more distant Byzantion. During the reign of this ruler, its centre was the fortress on Arkovna Peak, between the villages of Arkovna and Partizani, in the municipality of Dalgopol, Varna Region. This opinion arose from the analysis of numerous individual finds of Cavarus' bronze coins, whom Polybius, the primary source on the Celtic kingdom in Thrace, mentions on several occasions. The mass occurrence of these bronze issues around Arkovna Peak and in its surroundings (around Dalgopol, Provadia and Smyadovo), and of La Tène finds typical of the 3rd c. BC, as well as the character of the archaeological site of Arkovna (standing out with its large dimensions and highly important strategic location, controlling two passes in the northern part of the Eastern Balkan Range) predetermine the minting of these bronze issues in this major centre that remained unknown to scholars until recently. Due to some linguistic parallels and a hint in the ancient sources, I suggested its name could have been Arkunis or Arkunia. Its identification as the legendary Tylis, capital of Comontorius (Lazarov 1993; Лазаров 1993; 1996a-c), remains open. This hypothesis contradicted the opinion, widely accepted in publications by Bulgarian historians and archaeologists in the last four or five decades that considered the Celtic Tylite kingdom to be a diminutive formation in the immediate surroundings of Byzantion. For this reason, it was met with some objections that explained the presence of Cavarus' bronze coins as having been brought from the south, and the Celtic finds in the above-defined region were dated to 2nd-1st c. BC (Domaradzky 1995, 18-23). A few typical Celtic objects that I provided as examples (Lazarov 1993, 17-18) were left without comment. La Tène fibulae of the LTB2 type, including some with coils on the foot (of the so-called Pestrup Type), were pronounced Thracian (Домардски 1997, 44, обр. 6-8).

Nonetheless, in the following years new data of numismatic and archaeological character kept accumulating to support my thesis. Here, I will summarize the principal finds:

## NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Before proceeding with the numismatic evidence, I would like to point out once again that I consider only the bronze issues of Cavarus that were minted to serve the market of the Tylite kingdom and circulated mostly within its territory to be indicative of the location of this kingdom. Cavarus' silver tetradrachms of the Alexander type, issued by the mint of Kabyle (Герасимов 1959, 111; Драганов 1993, 75), were international currency. They reproduce a constant type, "head of Heracles / Zeus enthroned", that was the commonest iconographic type, introduced by Alexander the Great (336-323 BC). This type was minted long after his death by many rulers and cities. Like the tetradrachms of the same type, minted by Mesambria and Odessos, those of Cavarus, although

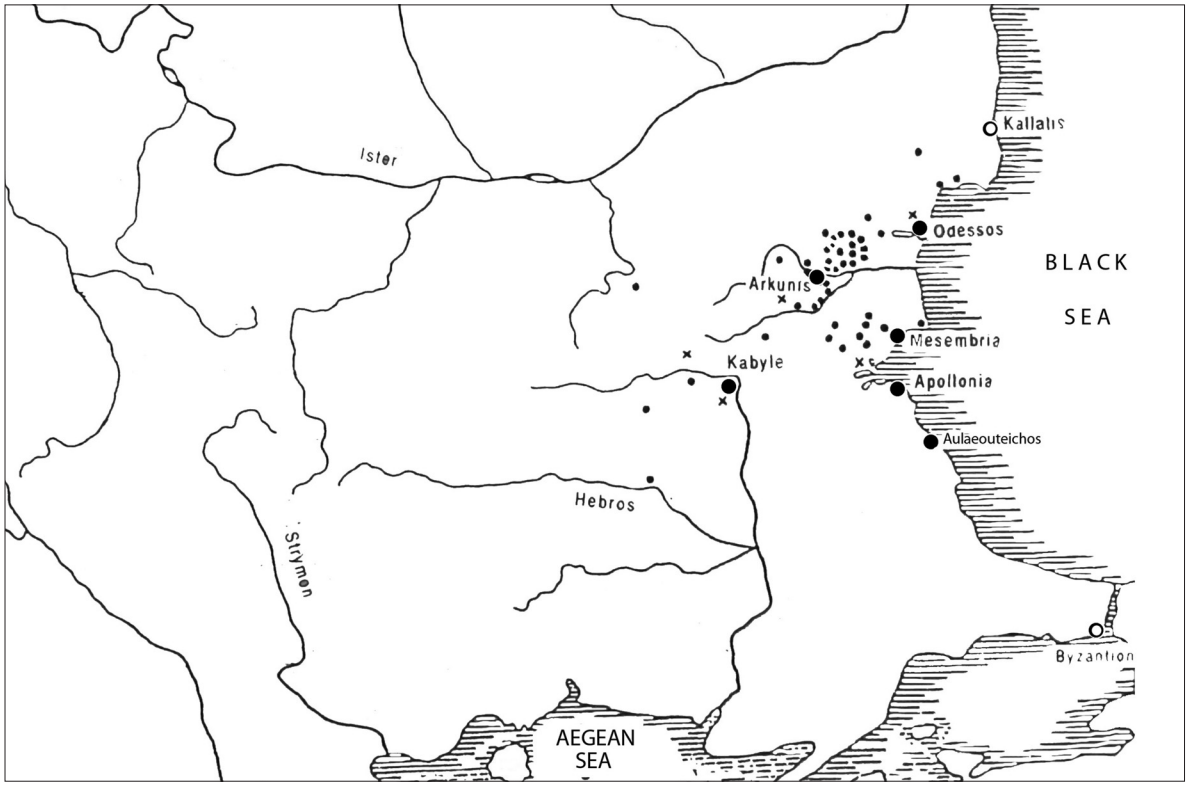



Map 1. Position of the Celtic Kingdom in Thrace according to the author.

rarely found, are present in hoards far from Thracian lands. Therefore, mixing data from the circulation of silver and bronze coins, aimed at proving the existence of a Celtic kingdom in Southeastern Thrace (Domaradzky 1995, 19; Bouzek 2006, 81) is methodically incorrect.

Thus, to the data, presented in 1993, about the circulation of Cavarus' bronze coins in the surroundings of Dalgopol (Arkovna Peak and the villages of Asparukhovo and Sladka Voda) and Provadia (Provadia and the villages of Blaskovo, Bozvelijsko, Venchan, Kiten, Nenovo, Petrov Dol, and Chajka), in the Vetreno Municipality, Varna Region (the villages of Nevsha and Neofit Rilski), in the surroundings of Kaspichan (the village of Kosovo), and in Devnya, and Vresovo Municipality, Burgas Region (the village of Bilka), new evidence was added about their circulation on the southern slopes of the Eastern Balkan Range in the Burgas Region (the villages of Sadievo, Cherna Mogila, Malka Polyana, Mirolyubovo, Ruen, Prosenik, Goritsa, Emona, and Yabalchevo), as well as in Mesambria and Akhtopol (Карайотов 1996, 11; 2000, 72-73). In some cases, Cavarus' coins appear in hoards along with bronze issues of Mesambria. For this reason, it was logical to relate Cavarus' issues of the type "Apollo/Nike" with the Mesambrian type "Amazon/Athena Alkis", and Cavarus' "Apollo/Celtic shield" with Mesambrian "helmet/Celtic shield". It was also logical to conclude that, generally speaking, the areas of circulation of Cavarus' and Mesambrian bronze coins in the second half of the 3rd c. BC coincided (Карайотов 1996, 11; Карайотов 2000, 72-73).

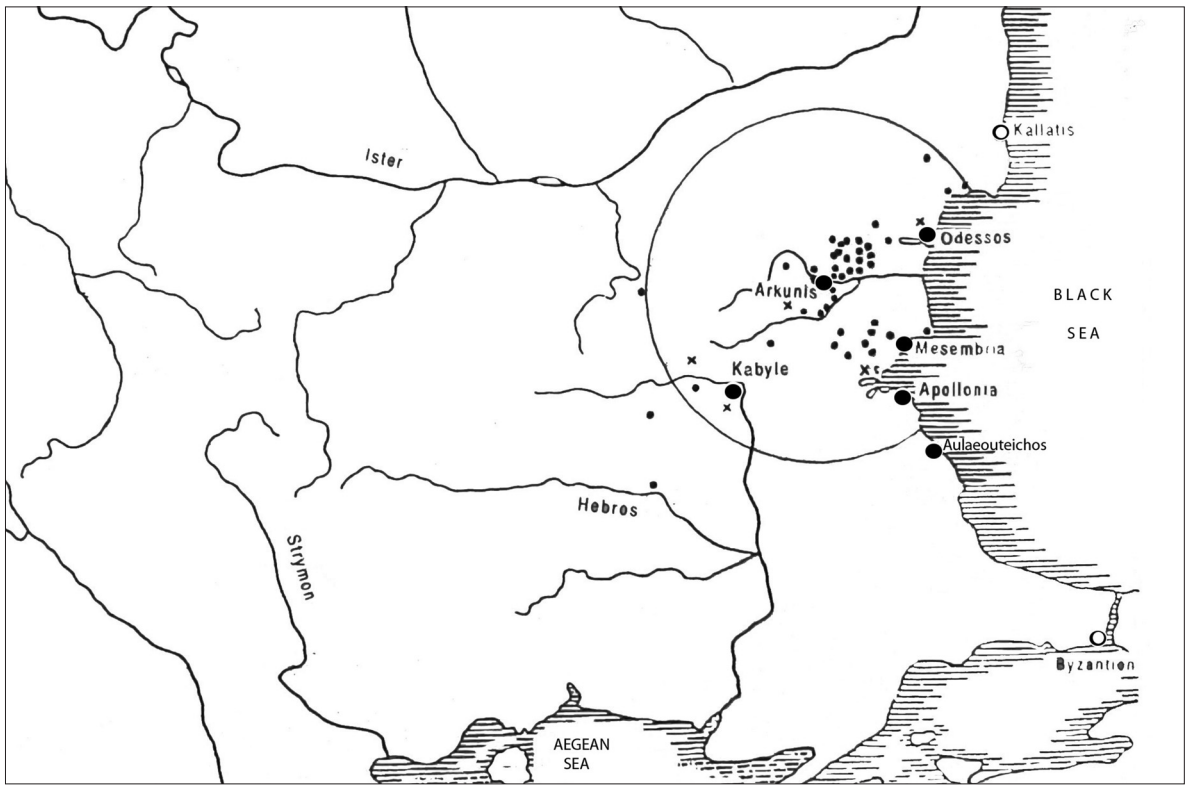
The number of finds of Cavarus' bronze coins from the above-defined territory on both sides of the Eastern Balkan Range is constantly growing. Thus, at the Eighth Congress of Thracology in 2000, I presented about thirty more such coins, mostly from the regions of Varna, Shumen and Burgas. Of particular interest are several bronze issues of Cavarus, discovered in Southern



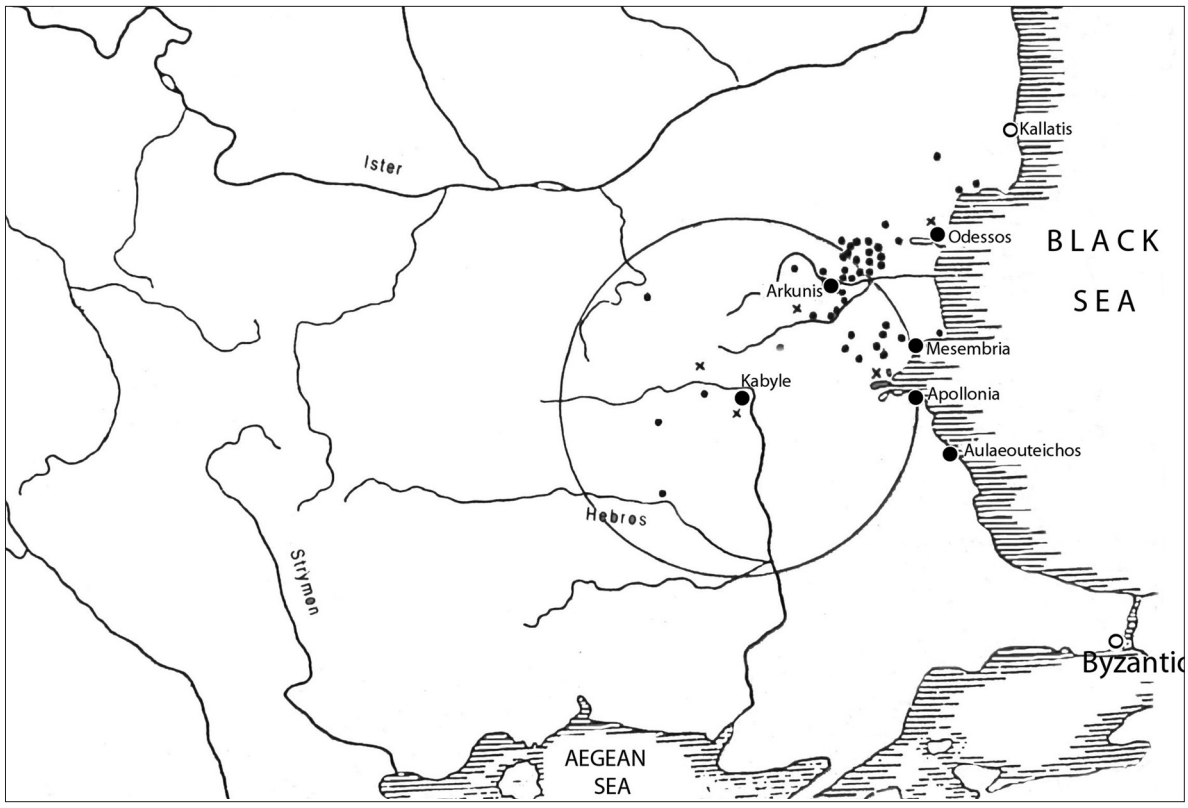

Map 2. Findspots of bronze coins of Cavarus.

Dobrudzha (the villages of Bozhurets, Septemvrijtsi, and Sveti Nikola, near Kavarna), that extend the area of distribution of these coins considerably to the north. Along with some La Tène finds from Southern Dobrudzha, the coins demonstrate that the possibility that the Tylite Celts controlled parts of the southern bank of the river Danube is far from illusory. To this, one should add the new evidence of published Celtic finds from the regions of Ruse and Razgrad, presented below. In the above-mentioned 2000 paper, along with the widespread types of Cavarus – "head of Apollo/Nike" and "head of Heracles/cornucopia" (i.e. from the heavy and medium denominations of Cavarus), another coin from a private collection was presented, discovered at the fortress on Arkovna Peak and belonging to Cavarus' smallest type – "head of Hermes/caduceus" (Лазаров 2002).

On the occasion of the publication of a bronze coin of the city of Apros with a Celtic shield on it, D. Draganov expressed doubts about the possibility of identifying the centre that minted Cavarus' coins on the grounds of their distribution. He also rejected the almost overlapping areas of circulation of these coins and of the Mesambrian issues "Amazon/Athena Alkis" and "helmet/Celtic shield", noting that in these territories there were also coins "of other rulers and cities (e.g. Adaios, Antiochos II, Kabyle, Odessos, Tomis, Kallatis) – a fact that makes such conclusions pointless" (Драганов 2001, 28-29). In fact, this opinion of D. Draganov not only casts doubt on the validity of I. Karayotov's conclusions (which in fact I completely share – Лазаров 2003a, 15-19), but actually rejects the possibility of identifying the centre that minted Cavarus' coins on the grounds of their circulation. As D. Draganov's point is a variation of other objections against attempts to locate the Tylite kingdom, based on Cavarus' bronze coins, I am obliged to make a digression. Certainly, there are coins of Adaios and of Antiochos II in the above-mentioned territo-




Map 3. Variant 1: Arkovna (Arkunis) as the minting centre of the bronze coinage of Cavarus.




Map 4. Variant 2: Kabyle as the minting centre of the bronze coinage of Cavarus.

Map 5. Variant 3: The fortress near the village of Tsenino as the minting centre of the bronze coinage of Cavarus.

ries, but they are earlier than the bronze coins of Cavarus and Mesambria from the second half of the 3rd c. BC, and they are considerably less numerous. Coins of Kabyle and Apollonia were also discovered around the eastern spurs of the Balkan Range, but they are much less numerous than those of Mesambria, particularly to the north of the mountain. Except for the coins of Cavarus and Mesambria, the only issues that circulated widely in the region in the second half of the 3rd c. BC were those of Odessos which obviously had the same status as the coins of Mesambria (Лазаров 2003a, 15-18, карта 1; Лазаров 2003b, 31; 2003d, 70, карта 3). Of course, all kinds of coins[1] occasionally reached the markets in the territories around Provadia, Dalgopol, Smyadovo, Kaspichan, Ajtos and in the neighbouring areas, but the share of such coins in the monetary circulation is negligible, compared to the main issues at that time – the bronze coins of Mesambria, Cavarus, and Odessos. Regarding D. Draganov's claim that he could list "at least a dozen sites like Arkovna" that could be proclaimed Cavarus' capital and mint (Драганов 2001, 29), it remains to be proved. As I am well familiar with the whole region of the Eastern Balkan Range, I can confidently state that there is no similar fortress, or rather a complex with strategic location and considerable dimensions, combined with mass occurrence of Cavarus' coins and various La Tène finds, typical of the 3rd c. BC. As by the time he wrote his article D. Draganov was working at Yambol Museum of History and was more familiar with the regions of Yambol and Sliven than with archaeological sites in Northeastern Bulgaria, one should be allowed to conclude that these "at least a dozen sites like Arkovna" are specifically in the southeastern parts of the country. Actually, Cavarus' coins have

[1] At Arkovna, for example, coins of the Scordisci and of Lampsakos were found (Лазаров 2003c, 40; 2006, 59-61).

been discovered in these parts: the first specimen was found near Sliven, such coins were published from Kabyle (Сираков 1973, 19, ##2-3), and another one is reported from the fortress at the village of Tsenino near Nova Zagora (Драганов 1993, 89). For this reason I have always regarded these regions as belonging to the Tylite kingdom (Lazarov 1993, 10; Лазаров 1993, 79; 1996a, 92; 1996b, 78; 2002, 247-48; 2003c, 42). Nonetheless it is impossible to locate Cavarus' residence in Southeastern Bulgaria. If the centre that minted Cavarus' bronze coins were somewhere around Yambol (e.g. in Kabyle) or around Nova Zagora (e.g. at the village of Tsenino), then their concentration there would definitely have been many times higher than in the neighbouring territories. And in a circle of about 50 km they would have been found much more often than in the surroundings of Dalgopol and Provadia to the north of the Eastern Balkan Range. To exemplify this comparison, I offer three possible areas of circulation of Cavarus' bronze coins, along with the topography of all finds of such coins that I know of at present (**map 2**). The circles on **maps 3-5** have a radius of about 100 km and are centred respectively on Arkovna (**map 3**), Kabyle (**map 4**), and the village of Tsenino near Nova Zagora (**map 5**). If we accept Arkovna as the centre that minted the coins, almost all finds fall within the 100-kilometer-radius or are in its immediate vicinity. On the contrary, when the centre is set at Kabyle and Tsenino, a considerable part of the finds falls outside of this perimeter of primary circulation, and territories close to the centre and to the south of it are devoid of registered finds, while it should have been exactly the opposite and the easily accessible southern direction should have yielded many more finds than the areas to the north of the Balkan Range. In this respect, a comparison with the area of circulation of the bronze coins, minted in Kabyle, is particularly revealing: they mostly reach the southern slopes of the Balkan Range to the north, and Sakar to the south (Драганов 1993, 99, **map 1**).

There is one more question that the thesis of the Celtic Tylite kingdom in Southeastern Bulgaria (or further south) is unable to address: where are the La Tène artefacts that along with Cavarus' coins could testify to the presence of Celtic enclaves? In the territories from the southern parts of the regions of Varna and Shumen to the northeast, there are hundreds of various Celtic finds: fibulae, bracelets, finger rings, parts of belts, weapons, pottery, and glass bracelets, while such materials are much less numerous in the regions of Sliven and Yambol (Southeastern Bulgaria). Certainly, these territories were politically subjected to Cavarus. Most probably, there were Celtic enclaves here, for example around Kazanlak. But the majority of the ruling Celtic group lived along the middle reaches of Kamchiya, i.e. to the north of the Eastern Balkan Range. Nonetheless, I certainly expect Celtic materials, including bronze coins of all of Cavarus' denominations, to be discovered in Kabyle. This important centre had direct, probably tributary relations with Cavarus' kingdom. There, the tetradrachms of this ruler were minted and Celts must have lived in its vicinity. A fragmentary inscription, unearthed at Kabyle, also hints at Celtic presence (Велков 1991, 11-12). Taken as a whole, however, the core of the Tylite kingdom under Cavarus was situated along the middle reaches of Golyama Kamchiya, and at least at present I consider the fortress on Arkovna Peak (Arkunis) to have been its undoubted centre.

Of particular importance are Cavarus' bronze coins, unearthed in the course of the small-scale excavations within the archaeological complex of Arkovna. Already in the course of the initial investigations by Ivan Vasilchin, who excavated a Hellenistic tomb, damaged by looters, a coin of Cavarus was discovered (of the type "head of Apollo/Nike"). Four coins were discovered altogether, the other three of Mesambria. Of the four pre-Roman coins, found in the course of rescue excavations on Malka Arkovna Peak, two were of Cavarus (of the same type) and the other two of Philip II (359-336 BC) and of Mesambria. During the same campaign, while excavating a disturbed ceramic pit along the way up to the ridge, two coins were found: one of Cavarus (of the

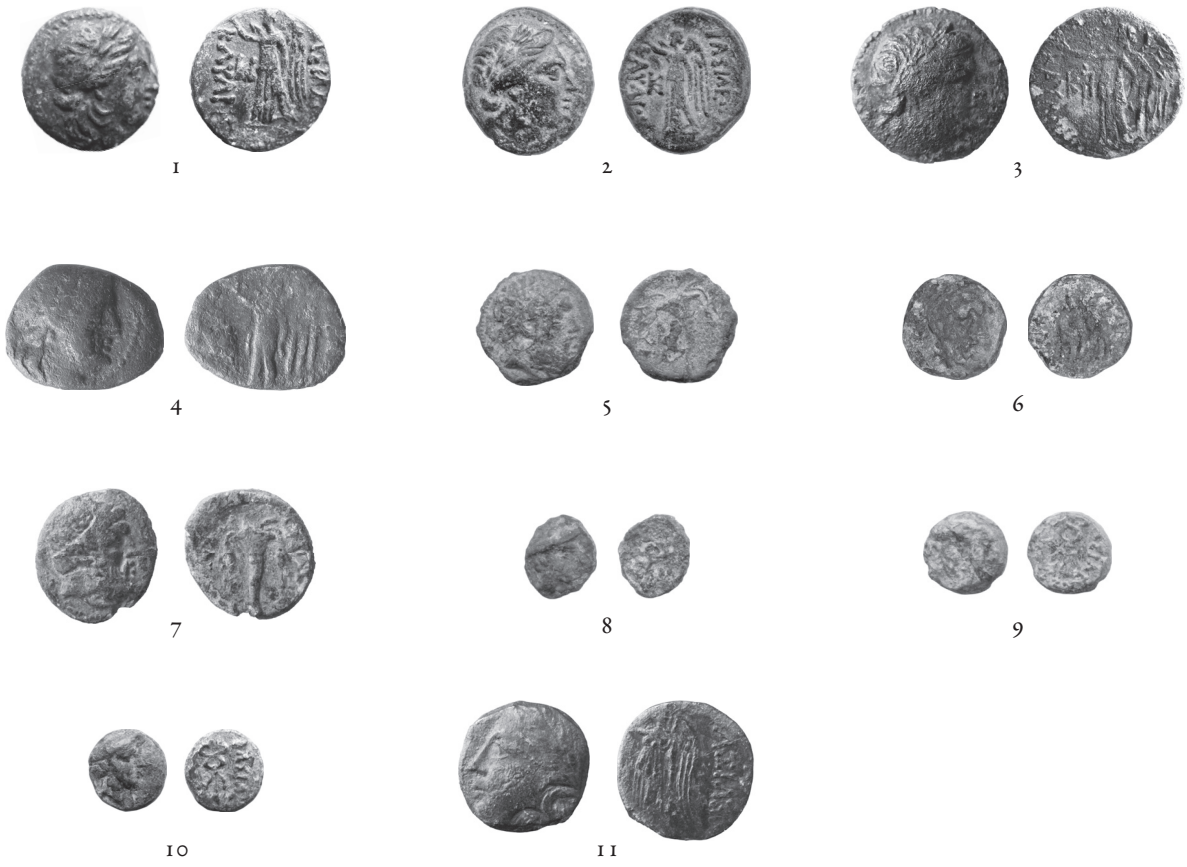



**Figure 1.** Bronze coins of Cavarus (220s-210s BC). **Type I** ("head of Apollo/Nike"): **1.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #H0596; **2.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, Trifonov Collection, Varna; **3.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #H0091; **4.** Zlataritsa, Veliko Tarnovo region, private collection. **Type II** ("head of Heracles/cornucopia"): **5.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #H0800; **6.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #H0604; **7.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, N. Mitkov Collection, Provadia. **Type III** ("head of Hermes/caduceus"): **8.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #H0801; **9.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #H0802; **10.** archaeological complex of Arkovna, N. Mitkov Collection, Provadia; **11.** new type of Cavarus (?) ("head of Apollo to the left/Nike", private collection).

type "head of Heracles/cornucopia"), and the other of Philip II. The discovery of two coins of the smallest denomination ("head of Hermes/caduceus") in the territory of the complex is important for the identification of Cavarus' mint which struck his bronze issues. They should have circulated mostly in the territories closest to the mint. In the course of these small-scale investigations and of field surveys of the complex, typical Celtic materials from the 3rd c. BC were discovered (Lazarov 2006).

Bearing in mind the arguments presented above, I believe that at least at present the archaeological complex of Arkovna (with the ancient name Arkunis?) is the most convincing candidate for Cavarus' residence and mint. Another possibility that cannot be excluded is that the coins were minted in Mesambria (and possibly in Odessos and Tomis) and were then brought to Arkovna. However, bearing in mind all the technical complications, it seems to be simpler to suppose that Greek craftsmen from Mesambria worked in Cavarus' residence (Лазаров 2003b). In my opinion, the following three types of bronze coins of Cavarus were minted in Arkovna:

1. Denomination unit:
   Obv. Head of Apollo laur. r.
   Rs. ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ. Nike standing l., holding wreath. In field – monograms. (**figs. 1/1-4**)

2. Denomination half:
   Obv. Head of Herakles with taenia r.
   Rs. ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛ/ΚΑΥΑΡ. Cornucopia overflowing with ears of wheat. (**figs. 1/5-7**)

3. Denomination quarter:
   Obv. Head of Hermes with petassos.
   Rs. ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛ/ΚΑΥΑ. Winged caduceus. (**figs. 1/8-10**)

There is one more type of bronze coin of Cavarus: "head of Apollo/Celtic shield" (de Renner 1895, #925; Мушмов, 1927, #154; SNG IX, 1993, #197; SNG XI, 2000, #303). There, the Σ in the name of Cavarus is replaced with a C. So far, such coins have not been discovered around Arkovna and they could have been minted somewhere else. N. Mushmov presents another bronze issue as belonging to Cavarus: "head of Sol/bull's (oxen's) head to the right" (Мушмов 1927, #155), but it is obviously a Scythian coin, on which the first letter of the name was not properly written or preserved (c.f. for example Орешниковъ 1914, 8, #1-2). Mushmov provides another type with the name of Cavarus (ΒΑΣΙΛ/ΚΑΥΑ): "head of Apollo/cornucopia", but underlines that this is a barbarized imitation of the type "head of Heracles/cornucopia" (Мушмов 1927, #157). Here, I illustrate for the first time another bronze coin that I recently had the chance to see. It was found in the area of the middle reaches of Golyama Kamchiya (near Smyadovo) and is a variation of the first type of Cavarus coin. The difference is that Apollo's head is turned to the left. The name of the king is written outside of the field and, on the obverse, there are two poorly preserved countermarks (**fig. 1/11**). This coin could be a mistake by the engraver. Judging by the place where it was discovered, the coin was most probably struck at the fortress on Arkovna Peak. It could also be an imitation. Regarding the two "new" types of Cavarus in the classification of M. Manov (Манов 1999, 29, 41), these are coins that have been misinterpreted[2].

The area of distribution of Cavarus' coins, registered so far, is presented on **map 2**. At present, the northernmost finds are those at the village of Septemvrijci, near Kavarna (Лазаров 2002, 256, #3-5), and the southernmost – at Akhtopol (Карайотов 2000, 72) and Constantia (Лазаров 1996b, 77); to the south of the Balkan Range, the westernmost are at Stara Zagora (Лазаров 1996b, 76), and to the north of it – at Zlataritsa near Veliko Tarnovo (**fig. 1/4**)[3].

In conclusion of this numismatic overview, I would like to stress that, for many problems of a general historic or narrower numismatic character, it is extremely important to present and illustrate fully (and not partially and selectively) the numismatic materials, discovered at a particular site. Unfortunately, for the pre-Roman period such a publication has appeared only for Seuthopolis. Regarding the Celtic Tylite kingdom, such publications of the coins from the decades-long in-

[2] See my review of Manov's work (Лазаров 2003e, 130-57), as well as Драганов 2001, 25, бел. 9.

[3] Illustrating this coin here was made possible by Mr. S. Ivanov, who obtained a Master Degree from the University of Shumen with a thesis on the Celtic materials and coins from the middle reaches of Kamchiya. He not only informed me about the discovery of the specimen from Zlataritsa, but also managed to organize for a photograph of the coin to be made. The same colleague provided me with information about La Tène finds from the vicinity of Veliko Tarnovo and Gorna Oryahovitsa that, together with the published materials from Tsarevets, explicitly indicate the presence of Celtic enclaves in this part of Northern Bulgaria.

vestigations of Kabyle and the Sboryanovo Archaeological Preserve near Isperikh will be of great importance.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS

In 1993, as well as publishing the coins of Cavarus from the region of Dalgopoland Provadia, I presented three typical Celtic objects from the 3rd c. BC, discovered in the same region. Actually, the presence of Celtic materials in the valley of the middle reaches of Golyama Kamchiya was already known, but they were assigned a considerably later date and were attributed to the Bastarnai (Домарадски 1984, 134, 142). The most important of them, along with the finds from Dalgopol, are those from the necropolis at Kalnovo near Smyadovo (some 10 km to the west of Arkovna). It seems that at present this is the only burial complex that could be related with greater certainty to the Tylite Celts in the 3rd c. BC, notwithstanding that some of the materials could be later than the end of the 3rd c. (Атанасов 1992). In the following years, the number of publications of Celtic materials kept rising, including of La Tène finds from the surroundings of Dalgopoland Provadia, kept in the Museum of Dalgopol (Лазаров 2001, 38-46; 2001-02, 294, обр. 2-4; 2002). Here again, I offer illustrations of some of them (**fig. 2/1-4, 7-9; fig. 3/1-5; fig. 4/3**).

La Tène materials discovered in the course of the small-scale excavations at the archaeological complex at Arkovna are very important proofs to support the thesis that it was the centre of the Tylite kingdom under its last king Cavarus. Along with the bronze coins of the above-listed three types, various other finds of undoubtedly Celtic origin were unearthed: fibulae (**fig. 2/5**), parts of belts (**fig. 3/6**), glass bracelets (**fig. 5/4**), a cheek guard from a helmet (**fig. 4/1**), fragments of chain-mail (**fig. 4/2**), and pottery (**figs. 5/1-3**) (Lazarov 2006). At Arkovna (Lazarov 2006, fig. 10) and other sites in the region, golden ornaments with filigree decoration were discovered that were rightly discussed in recent publications in the context of interactions between Thracian and Celtic toreutics (Лазаров 2001-02, 294, рис. 1; **fig. 3/7-8**).

In the last 15 years, as a result of indiscriminate looting in various parts of Northeastern Bulgaria and particularly in the region of Arkovna Peak and the valley of the middle reaches of Golyama Kamchiya, hundreds of Celtics finds were unearthed that could be related to the Celtic Kingdom in Thrace. Some of them reached the two large regional museums at Varna and Shumen. The publication of La Tène materials from the Regional Museum of History – Shumen, discovered at various sites in the Shumen Region, but also in other parts of Northeastern Bulgaria, is another proof of the presence of the Tylite Celts in the region. Most of the finds belong to types that are typical of the LB2/LC1 phases (Anastassov 2006), i.e. they belong to the 3rd c. BC and are direct traces of the Tylite Celts. The same evidence is provided by the publication of fibulae from the Regional Museum of History – Ruse. They come from the region of Ruse and, like most of the materials from Shumen, are of LB2/LC1 types, therefore from the time of the Tylite kingdom (Anastassov 2007, ##1-5). Six of the Celtic fibulae, purchased by the Varna Museum of archaeology, were also published (Mircheva 2007). At least three of them (Mircheva 2007, 1-7) should be related to the Tylite kingdom, and it is possible to ascribe to the one in fig. 1/5 an earlier date in the second half of the 3rd c. BC[4]. A few fragmentary Celtic bronze bracelets from the same pe-

[4] The absolute chronology of the La Tène materials in Central Europe is not sufficiently clarified. For example, I have serious reservations concerning dates that put the appearance of the LTC fibulae (with the foot attached to the bow) as late as 230 BC (see for example Bujna 1982, 326, Tab. 2; Čižmářová 2001, 8). I think it is justified to move that date to some 50 years earlier (Maráz 1997, 56; Szabo 1992, 2).

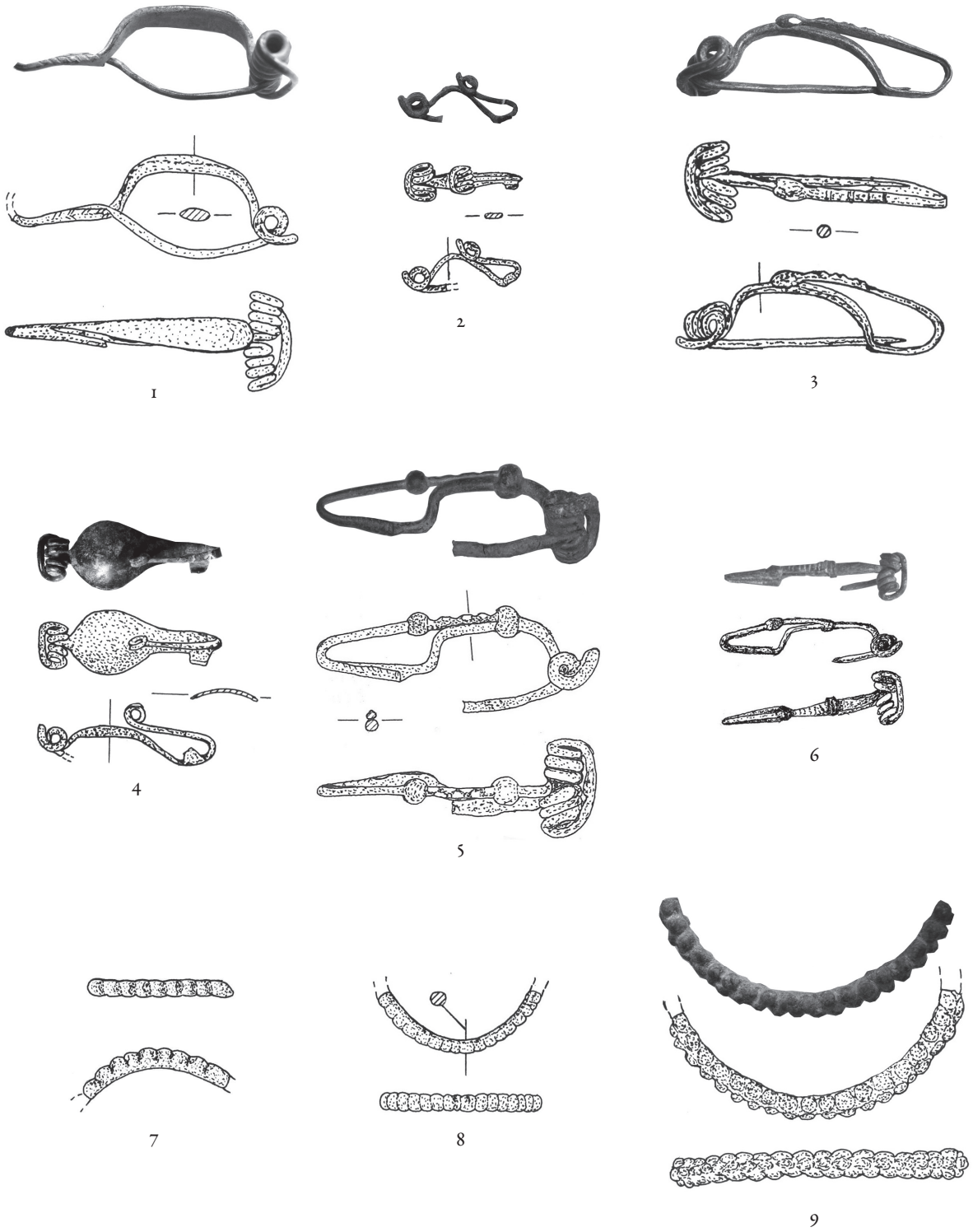



FIGURE 2. **Fibulae**: **1**. Yuktepe locality, Ganchevo (ex Partizani), Dalgopol municipality (5 km to the south of Arkovna Peak), HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0271; **2**. Pchelinya locality, Dalgopol, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0062; **3**. Pchelinya locality, Dalgopol, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0033; **4**. Usoeto locality, Asparukhovo, Dalgopol Municipality (tumulus #4, grave #5), HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0064; **5**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0451; **6**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, private collection. **Bracelets**: **7**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0459; **8**. Uncertain, near Provadia, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0586; **9**. Beshtepe locality, Bozvelijsko, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA449.

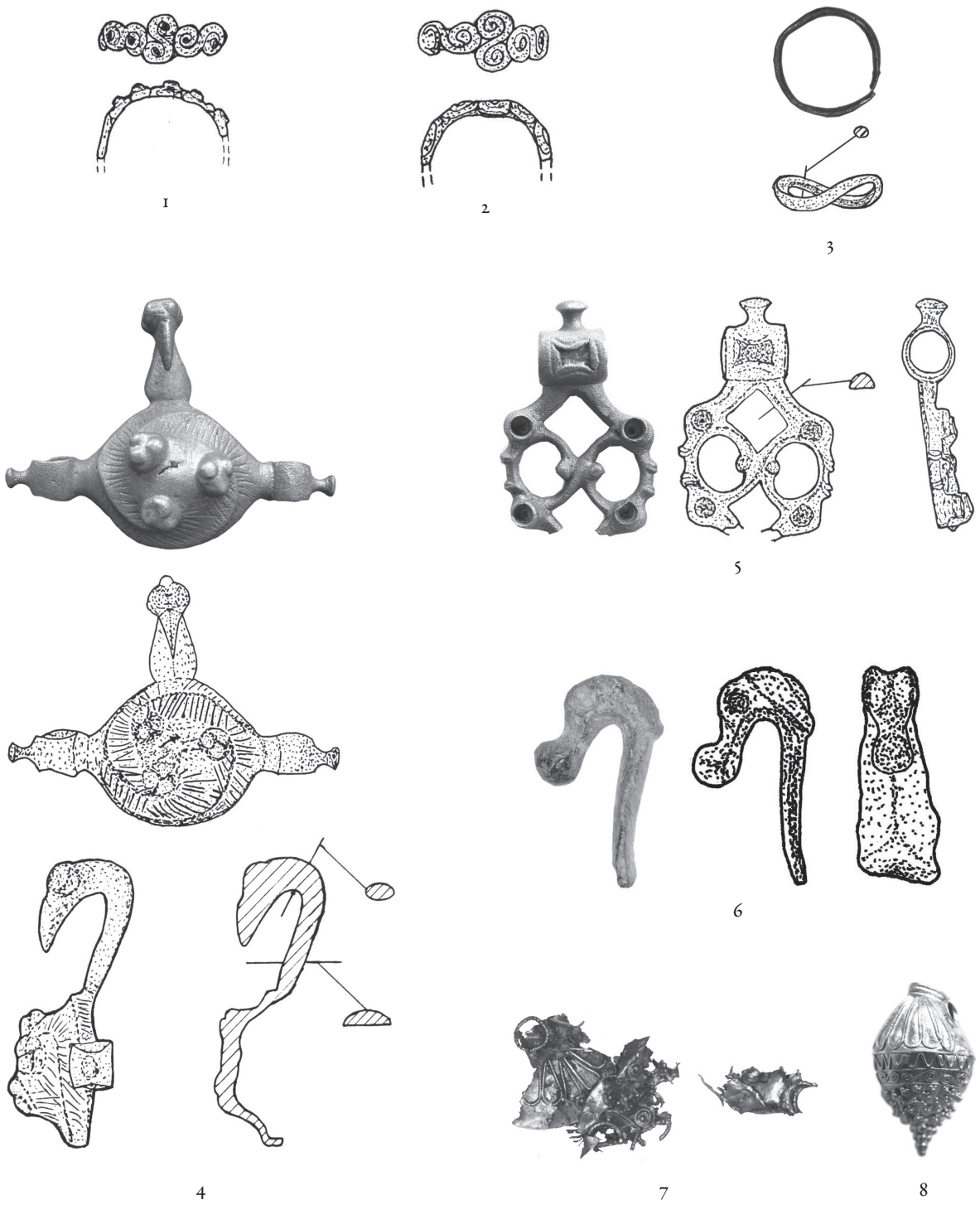



FIGURE 3. **Finger rings**: **1**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0447; **2**. Kaptazha locality, Prosechen, Suvorovo Municipality, Varna Region, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0448; **3**. Poryaza locality, Sladka voda, Dalgopol Municipality, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0590. **Parts of belts**: **4**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0250; **5**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0335; **6**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0623. **Golden ornaments with filigree**: **7**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0; **8**. uncertain, near Dalgopol, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0237.

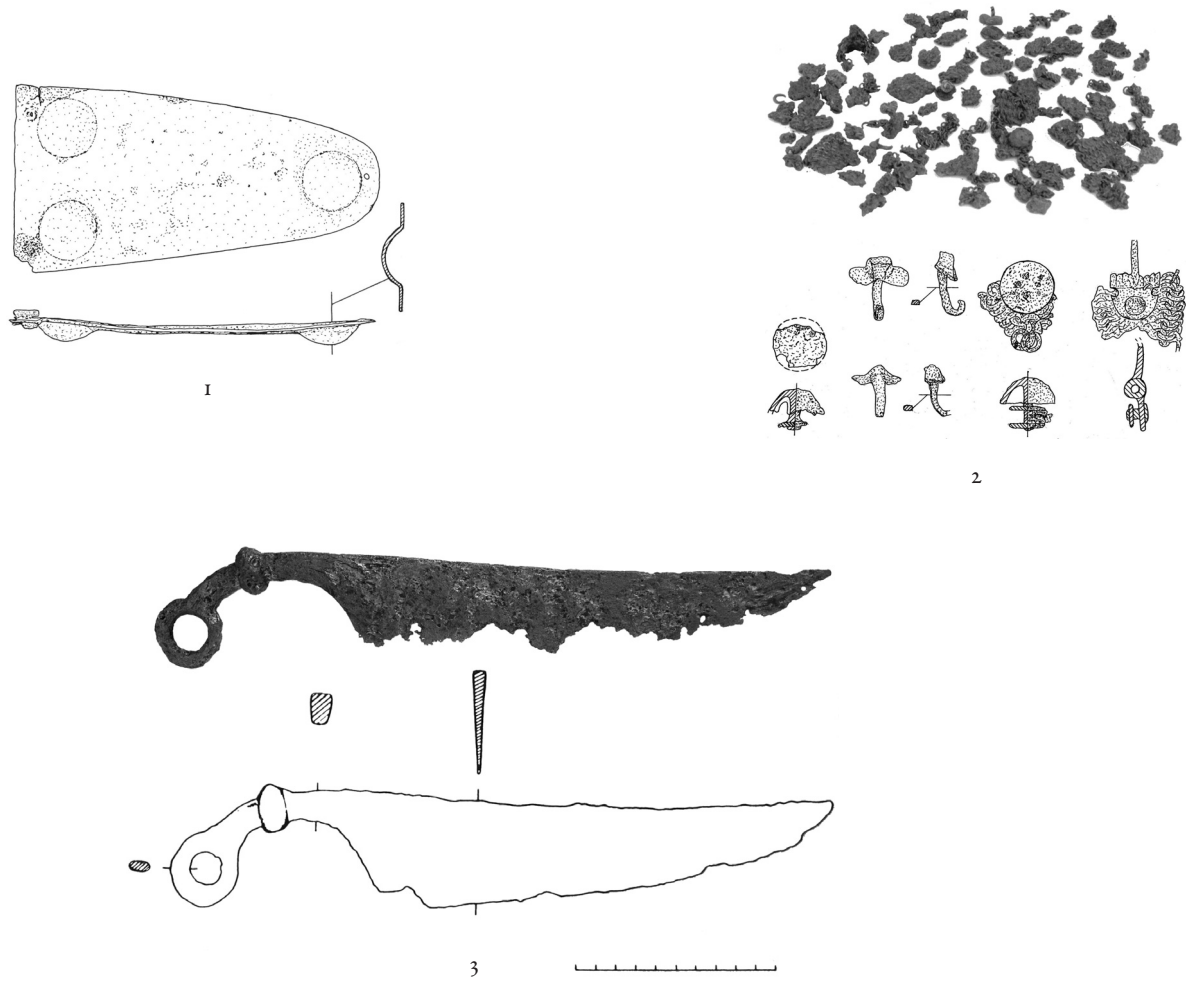



FIGURE 4. **Weapons and armour**: 1. helmet cheek guard, archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0463; 2. fragments of chain-mail, archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol; 3. knife, Pchelinya locality, Dalgopol, HM-Dalgopol, inv. # AA0022.

riod, found in Northeastern Bulgaria and kept in Varna Museum, were published by M. Tonkova (Tonkova 2006, 271, Pl. V, 1-3). La Tène materials from the 3rd c. BC (LB2/LC1) have been discovered in the course of investigations of the Sboryanovo Archaeological Preserve (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 55-56, fig. 51b, fig. 74). Their presence there is explained by the "infiltration and participation of Celtic, La Tène enclaves in the region that enriched its ethnic and cultural characteristics without having a defining role" (Стоянов 2005, 213). This is a correct conclusion. T. Stoyanov, however, does not relate these Celtic enclaves to the Tylite kingdom, but locates it in Southeastern Thrace (Стоянов 2005, 213; Stoyanov et al. 2006). More La Tène materials from the time of the Tylite kingdom have been discovered in the Thracian settlement on the hill of Tsarevets in Veliko Tarnovo (Lilova 2005, 276 ff., Abb. 3-6), which, when added to those already published (Квинто 1985, 55), support the presence of Celtic Tylite groups along the upper reaches of Yantra.

Among the materials published in recent years, there are two instruments for manufacturing goods – half a mould for casting LC1 fibulae, found in the region of Shumen and Razgrad, and a matrix for hammering reliefs with typical La Tène images, discovered at the village of Troitsa, near Shumen (Харалambиева 2000-2001; Атанасов 2005, 126, фиг. 3). These tools clearly indi-

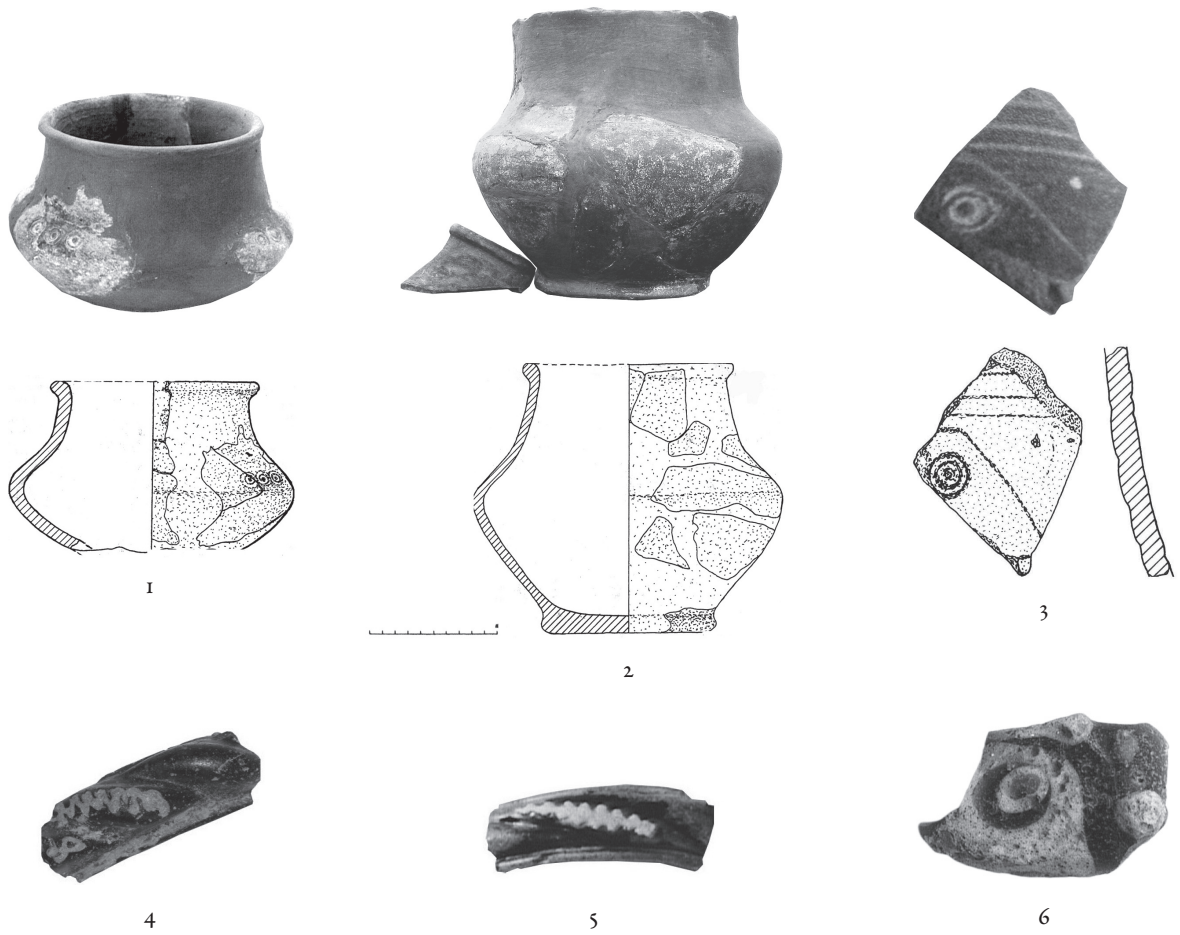



FIGURE 5. **Pottery**: **1**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0600; **2**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #AA0602; **3**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol. **Glas bracelets** (fragments): **4**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #sp. f. AA0078/1; **5**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, inv. #sp. f. AA0018; **Glass bead with human face** (fragm.): **6**. archaeological complex of Arkovna, HM-Dalgopol, Inv. #sp. f. AA0076.

cate the local manufacture of La Tène objects. In this case, it seems most logical to think they were used by Celtic craftsmen. If we assume that the toreuts were Thracians, then one should explain why they were manufacturing goods specifically in this part of Thrace. T. Stoyanov believes that in Sboryanovo "Thracian craftsmen manufactured along with the "Thracian" fibulae various types of "LaTène" fibulae" (Стоянов 2005, 213; Stoyanov et al. 2006, 55-56, fig. 51b). There are no such specimens, however, from Strandzha and Sakar, where he locates the Tylite kingdom and where there should have been many more Celts than in Northeastern Bulgaria. In fact, in the 1960s Khristo Danov concluded that there is no evidence of Celtic presence in the two mountains, situated in the southeastern corner of present-day Bulgaria (Данов 1969, 436).

Despite plenty of numismatic and archaeological data that clearly supports the note by Stephanus Byzantius "Tylis, city in Thrace near Haemus" (Zeuss 1837, 180, note **; Holder 1896, 2024), the Tylite kingdom is still located by the scholars in Southeastern Thrace, closer to Byzantion. For example, in the articles referred to above, T. Stoyanov raises the following question: "Should we think that the settlement of Celtic enclaves in Eastern Thrace and most of all the creation of a Celtic kingdom in (South-) Eastern Thrace had disastrous effects for the economic and

cultural development of Northeastern Thrace?" (Стоянов 2005, 213; Stoyanov et al. 2006, 55-56). The question contains a premise – the Tylite kingdom is situated in Southeastern Thrace, and its existence presupposes an economic collapse in Thrace. It is true that Justin reports that the Celts defeated the Getae and the Triballi (ИТМ 1949, 250-251), which means an end to the Getic dynastic reign, but he does not say that there were serious cataclysms in Thrace. Neither in Sboryanovo, nor in any of the other regions that fall within the limits of the Tylite kingdom as they are outlined by numismatic and archaeological materials, could a visible economic downturn be detected. Certainly, in the immediate process of establishing the Celtic domination some centres were ravaged – e.g. emporion Pistiros near Pazardzhik in Southern Bulgaria (Bouzek 2006, 79) – but they were quickly rebuilt afterwards. Other settlements seem to have accepted the conquerors without serious resistance. This is particularly true of the Greek cities on the western Pontic coast. Not only Byzantion, but also Mesambria and Odessos which were closer to the Celtic kingdom, and possibly Apollonia accepted paying tribute to the new rulers of Eastern Thrace. In this way they obtained protection from the Celtic kingdom for the period until the last decade of the 3rd c. BC. It was precisely in this period (the middle and the second half of the 3rd c. BC) that Mesambria, Odessos and Kabyle flourished and engaged in active trade. It was through the ports of Mesambria and Odessos that the wine and olive oil from Rhodes, Sinope, Kos and Thasos reached the interior of the Tylite state; the amphorae of these centres are widespread along the middle reaches of Kamchiya and the rest of Eastern Thrace on both sides of the Balkan Range. That is to say that the Celtic kingdom in Eastern Thrace did not bring "disastrous effects", but rather created conditions for economic and commercial boom. This, in fact, is what Polybius (ИТМ 1949, 138) means when he says that the regal and magnanimous Cavarus gave the merchants sailing into the Pontos great protection "and rendered the Byzantines important services in their wars with the Thracians and Bithynians." The Celtic kingdom in Eastern Thrace soon acquired a syncretic Thraco-Celtic appearance that was greatly influenced by the Hellenistic culture near the Greek poleis. This mixing of Celtic, Thracian and Greek traditions is reflected in the archaeological finds. This is how one should interpret not only some hybrid types of fibulae (Măndescu 2005), but also the specimens of Celtic pottery that unlike the metal items have rarely been discovered until now. Even the most important indicator of the location of the Tylite kingdom – Cavarus' bronze coins – reveals this cultural syncretism. There is nothing Celtic about them, except for the ruler's name that we know from Polybius. Without his testimony, probably the coins would have been attributed to a Thracian king. Cavarus' bronze coins are thoroughly Hellenistic, made by Greek craftsmen. They are very different from the Celtic coins in Central and Western Europe. They are the best illustration of how soon the Celts that settled down in Thrace adopted the Hellenistic tradition. Just like in Italy, where the first local generation of Gauls was equally Celtic and Italic (Hubert 1932, 33), the Celts in Thrace quickly lost the purity of their material and probably spiritual culture. There was a degree of ethnic mixing between Thracians and Celts that persuaded some historians from the first half of the 19th c. to describe a "Celto-Thracian" kingdom in Thrace (Wernsdorff 1843, 28; Conzen 1861, 208 ff., Kapitel VII).

The core of the Tylite kingdom was located in the areas with the highest concentration of its bronze coins and where numerous La Tène materials have been discovered: around Dalgopol, Provadia, Smyadovo, Kaspichan, Shumen, Ajtos, Karnobat, Sliven, and partly around Yambol, that is to say on both sides of the Eastern Balkan Range. To the west the Celtic kingdom certainly included the region of Veliko Tarnovo as far as the river Yantra, as well as the area of Kazanlak, where La Tène materials have been discovered and which is one of the possible locations of the first Celtic capital Tylis (Jireček 1877, 152). This location was accepted by most early scholars (Кацаров 1919, 66 and bibliography in note 66). It is difficult to determine the southern border – probably some-

where to the south of Kabyle and near Apollonia on the Black Sea coast. Most probably the Celts did not directly rule these cities, but, as already stated, gathered tribute from them. However, the situation was changeable and Apollonia particularly could have at times been under the protection of the Thracians in Strandzha. In any case, it seems impossible that the Tylite Celts had direct control to the south of Sakar, as this was a dominion of the Seleucids and later of the Ptolemies (Лазаров 1996b, 79). The Tylite Celts, however, controlled a southward corridor – to the east of Tundzha towards Byzantion which paid them tribute. To the north the Celtic kingdom reached in some places to the Danube (to the east of Yantra) and had contacts with the Celtic groups to the north of the river. It is hard to define the limits of Celtic control in Dobrudzha, as it is not clear when the Scythian kingdom took shape there. In any case, along the course of the Danube in Dobrudzha there were settlements with Celtic names (Aliobrix, Noviodunum, Arubium, etc. – Hubert 1932, 52; Woźniak 1976, 383). Certainly, there was a considerable Thracian population in the Tylite kingdom. The Celts, however, located in different parts of the kingdom (with its core around the Eastern Balkan Range), were the consolidating and militarily dominant element, united around the king.

After the fall of the Tylite kingdom, no strong state appeared in Eastern Thrace, except for that of the Astai in Strandzha. There was a gradual decline in the economic and political development of Thrace that predetermined to a degree the subsequent Roman conquest.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ВДИ – Вестник древней истории, Москва

ГПНБ – Годишник на Пловдивската народна библиотека, Пловдив

ИАИ – Известия на Археологическия институт, София

ИИМШ – Известия на Историческия музей – Шумен, Варна

ИНМБ – Известия на Народния музей – Бургас, Бургас

Известия на Народния музей – Варна, Варна

ИТМ – Извори за старата история и география на Тракия и Македония. Под редакцията на Г. Кацаров и Д. Дечев, София

НПМ – Л. Лазаров. Нумизматични проучвания и материали (авторска поредица), София, Велико Търново

НСф – Нумизматика и сфрагистика, София

НСфЕ – Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика, София

AÉ – Archaeologiai Értesitő, Budapest

BHR – Bulgarian Historical Review, Sofia

PA – Památky archeologické, Praha

SNG – Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum

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# The Mal-Tepe Tomb at Mezek and the Problem of the Celtic Kingdom in South-Eastern Thrace

Totko Stoyanov

The subject of this colloquium raises the question of the interpretation of the burials uncovered in the monumental tomb in the huge tumulus Mal-tepe near the village of Mezek in SE Bulgaria. It is among the most representative of Thracian monuments in respect of its architecture and burial inventory (Филов 1937, 1-79, 90-107). It reveals at least three stages of development as a memorial complex. In the final one, ca. the middle of the 3rd c. BC, when it developed the characteristics of a *heroon* (most recent analyses Stoyanov 2005; Stoyanov / Stoyanova forthcoming, §. I.7), artifacts unusual for Thrace appeared in the inventory (**fig. 1/1-9**) (Филов 1937, 55, 61, 63, ##15-16, 29-31, обр. 23, 52-53, 69)[1].

In 1941 P. Jacobsthal identified these as fittings of a Celtic chariot, made in the "Plastic style"[2], and posed the question of the existence of a Celtic (princely?) burial in the complex attributed to a Celtic chieftain of Tylis (Jacobsthal 1941). This article was subsequently included in Jacobsthal's major work on Celtic art (Jacobsthal 1969, 151-152). Since then this opinion has prevailed in the literature on the Celtic presence in Thrace[3]. We can add the opinion presented by R. Hoddinott (1981, 100, 126-127) in his general book on Thrace, that the fortress in the vicinity of Mezek can be identified as the capital Tylis, because of the Mal-tepe "chariot burial". It is odd that regardless of the progress of archaeological research and general studies of the Thracian culture of Classical and Hellenistic times in recent decades, Jacobstahl's opinion is more or less repeated even by authors well acquainted with the matter (Archibald 1998, 246, 287; Bouzek 2005, 105). The exceptions are the more balanced interpretation of these materials in the studies of M. Domaradzky (Домарадски 1983, 40; 1984, 7, 87, 125-126, 146; Домарадски / Танева 1998, 50-53).

In the paper mentioned above I associated the execution of the tomb in the Mal-tepe tumulus as an impressive *heroon*, with a boar hunt sculptural group at the entrance, with Adaios, strategos or epistates of Antigonos Gonatas, residing in Thrace. If so, the fittings from a Celtic chariot, found in the tomb, might have been war spoils from his contribution to Antigonos' defeat of the Celts in 277 at Lysimacheia (Stoyanov 2005, 127).

I shall begin my further critical notes on the La Tène artifacts in question within the context of the whole tomb-complex, the necropolis and the settlement nearby, starting with the statement of M. Domaradzki: "There are cases, when the Celts use the dwellings and earlier tombs, left by the local population, like that in Canosa. But, in such burials besides objects of indigenous origin many materials of proper Celtic character are recorded (swords, metal belts, fibulae, torques etc.). Despite being looted in Antiquity, the tholos tomb at Mezek has revealed many archaeological artefacts, among which except for the aforementioned chariot fittings there are none of La Tène

[1] B. Filow has not defined the function of most of the artifacts in question.
[2] V. Megaw (2005, 213) prefers to call it the "Disney" style.
[3] For a review of the different nuances of interpretations cf. Emilov 2007, 59.

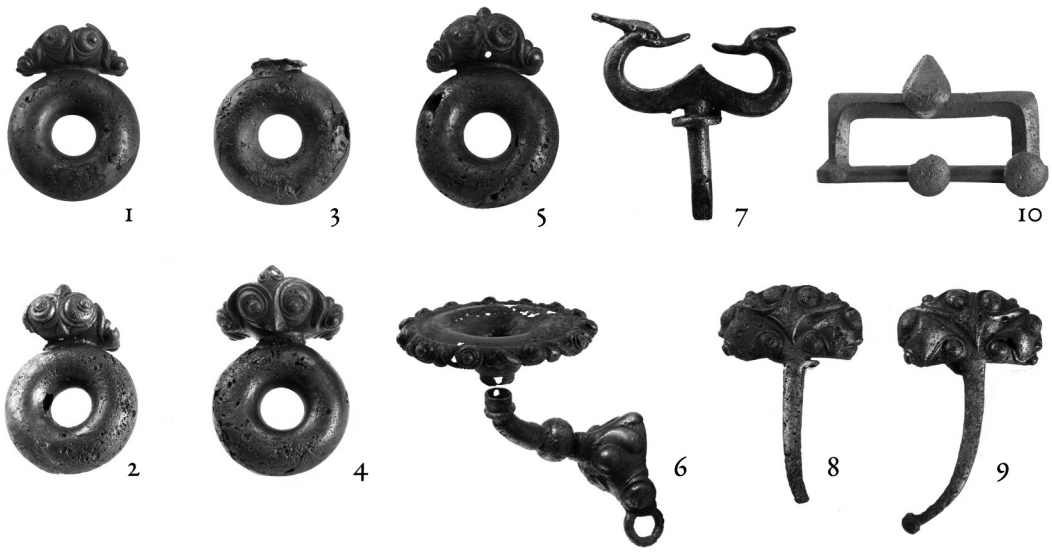


**Figure 1.** Chariot fittings and a buckle from the Mal-tepe tomb at Mezek (photo K. Georgiev): **1-5** Bronze bridle rings (NAIM Sofia, inv. #6411-6412); **6** Bronze rosette on a stalk (NAIM Sofia, inv. #6413); **7** Bronze forked ornament (NAIM Sofia, inv. #6413); **8-9** Bronze linchpins (NAIM Sofia, inv. #6413); **10** Bronze buckle (NAIM Sofia, inv. #6418).

provenance. The metal chariot fittings show that it was deposited as a grave gift. In the period to which the chariot belongs – first half of the 3rd c. BC or even later, the custom of chariot deposit as a grave gift does not yet exist in Celtic Europe. It is found only in Northeastern France, where it lasts till the 3rd c. BC. All of the above allows us to suggest that the tomb at Mezek was reused in the 3rd c. BC by the Thracians as in other similar instances (cf. Seuthopolis). The Celtic chariot was a grave gift for a Thracian noble. Maybe it was a spoil of war or a gift from the ruler of the nearby Celts living at Tyle." (Домарадски 1984, 126).

It is to be underlined that B. Filow accurately described the place of discovery of the artefacts where known, and the opposite where the find site was unknown. This is the case with all the chariot fittings. So, if it is noted that some of the finds were discovered by the villagers and after that by the Filow's excavations outside the tomb (Филов 1937, 1-5), I am not sure that it is appropriate to consider these artifacts as part of the finds in "the burial" or in "the *dromos*" (by assumption?) as is evident from the texts of Jacobsthal (1941, 394-96; 1969, 151) and many of the later authors (cf. Fol 1991, 384; Archibald 1998, 246). In the review of the information on the circumstances of the discoveries in the Mal-tepe tomb B. Filow does not give any information on wooden and metal (bronze or iron) remains from the two/four wheels of the cart or chariot, its axles, poles etc. In the last few decades exhaustive information has been published on the remains of such vehicles in the context of three different rich Thracian burials from the 4th c. BC – those from Vratsa (Торбов 2005, 12-13, 71-72, табло III/1-7, XVI), Peretu (Moscalu 1990, 138, 141, 155-158, Abb. 3, 5-6, 17-18, Taf. 62-63) and Strelcha (Китов 1979, 5-6, обр. 5, 26, 29). In my opinion, it is more adequate to assume that the fittings in question are parts of a chariot which were deposited already dismantled. The fact that peasants found remains of horse skeletons in the *dromos* encouraged P. Jacobthal to assume a chariot burial (Jacobsthal 1941, 396-97; Jacobsthal 1969, 151). However, there are no iron or bronze La Tène horse-bits, which are quite different from the Thracian ones from the 4th-3rd c. BC (cf. Werner 1988, types V-VII, X for Thrace and type XIV of La Tène provenance). On

the contrary, the buckle (**fig. 1/10**) (Филов 1937, 65, #70, обр. 70), which P. Jacobsthal proposes to be added to the chariot fittings (1969, 151), is a common and well known element of the horse trappings in Thrace in Classical and Hellenistic times (cf. Kisyov 1997, 3, pl. 4; Атанасов 1995, #100) and it is not related to the La Tène culture. Similar buckles, but with semicircular silhouette, are known from a series of rich Thracian burials of the 4th-3rd c. BC with typical horse trappings. The closest complex comes from a rich grave from the "Chervenata prast" site at Mezek (Велков 1937, 133-36, #8, обр. 136). Several are known from rich elite burials with riding horses with silver applications such as Vratsa, Peretu, Agighiol, Panagyurishte (Berciu, 1971, 214-15, 228, Abb. 9. 6-8; Мелюкова 1979, 220, рис. 47/1-10; Moscalu 1989, 151, #29, Abb. 10/10, Taf. 61/5; Торбов 2005, 70, табло V/4).

On the grounds of our present knowledge of common Thracian harness adornments it is not possible either to favour the opinion of P. Jacobsthal (left almost without comment by modern scholars) that two groups of "gold beads" found in the Mezek complex, could be identified as "probably Celtic" by comparison with gold finds from Central Europe such as the gold ring from Herczegmàrok, the armband from Schwarzenbach and the golden torque from Dürkheim (cf. Филов 1937, 32, 34, #5, 7, обр. 30/8-11, 32; Jacobsthal 1941, 397-98, Abb. 5-6; Jacobsthal 1969, 98, 152, #61, 248a). At present, beads of similar form and dimension made of gold are a well established element of ceremonial horse equipment recorded at the appropriate parts of the horses' skeletons in the context of most extant elite Thracian burials from the 4th-3rd c. B. C. On the basis of the observations it is proposed they were threaded on the reins or the smaller straps of the headstall (Владимирова 1994, 51, обр. 10 а-б; Tonkova 1997, 28, fig. 23). These are just a few examples – Kavarna (Minčev 1983, 310, Abb. 1-2, 319, #6, Abb. 20; cf. Tonkova 1997, 28-29), Golyama Arsenalka Tumulus, near Shipka, Kazanlak Valley (Kitov 1999, 17), Dolna Koznitsa, Kyustendil district (Staikova 1998, 104, cat. #23), Kralevo, Targovishte district (Гинев 2000, 31, обр. 26, 32, 34; Fol et al. 2004, 168-69, cat. #224i). More importantly, such applications of the horse harness have been produced in Thracian workshops as is evident from the punch with the same pattern in positive, discovered in the context of a toreutic workshop in the big fortified Thracian settlement at Dragoevo, Shumen district, NE Bulgaria. At the same place a golden appliqué of the kind was discovered as well (Атанасов 2004, 49, 54, обр. 4-5; the stamp – Shumen Museum, inv. #3732). Since the appliqués in question and some other golden parts of the headstalls reveal a distinct floral style (Филов 1937, 30-31, ##1-3, обр. 27-29; ##1, 2 of these were found in the corridor), and on account of the fine execution in repoussée, filigree and granulation, such artifacts could have been manufactured by highly skilled Greek goldsmiths and designed for Thracian aristocrats (Tonkova 1997, 28-29, fig. 24).

The bronze statue of a boar drawn by P. Jacobsthal (152, pl. 260g) as another sign of Celtic influence in the tomb has been taken into consideration by some modern authors as well (cf. V. Megaw 2005, 213). I would add to previous analysis of the complex and of parallels of the statuary representations of the boar hunt (cf. Stoyanov 2005, 125-27) the boar and deer hunt scenes on the upper frieze in the main chamber of the tholos tomb discovered in 2000 at Alexandrovo, just ca. 30 km to North-West of Mezek. In one of them the posture of the beast, attacked by two hunters, is similar to the Mezek boar (Kitov 2001, 25-27, front page, figs. 8-9, 12-13; Китов 2009, 58, 61-63, обр. 55, 60-61). The wall-paintings of the Alexandrovo tomb are to be dated to the early 3rd c. B.C (Стоянов 2008, 59) and are a new display of the adoption of the key patterns of royal propaganda in the Early Hellenistic world – hunts, symposia and military deeds as an expression of the heroic status of the deceased.

In conclusion I would praise the undoubted contribution of P. Jacobsthal in identifying the fittings of a Celtic chariot and recognizing them as an indication of the relations between the Celts and the Thracians (and probably the Macedonians) in that part of the Balkans in the first half of 3rd c. BC. Because of the uncritical use of his supposition of a Celtic burial in the Mal-tepe tomb by many modern scholars, the role of these artifacts has been overestimated. We should also note the lack of any archaeological information on Celtic (resp. La Tène) materials from the excavations of B. Filow (1937, 79-90) and I. Welkov (1937) in the necropoleis in the area of Mezek, the excavations of D. Aladzhov and I. Petrov some 50 years later inside the Medieval fortress at Mezek, along the north Wall (Аладжов / Петров 1985, 49, 58)[4], as well as the trench excavations in 1994 at the North-Western end of the village of Mezek[5]. Hence, for the time being, it is reasonable to conclude that the area of Mezek, where a residential seat of a local ruling family is supposed, is far away from the political territory of the Celtic kingdom of Tylis. As far as I am informed on the results of the surveys and excavations of Bulgarian and Greek colleagues in the last decades in the area of the Eastern Rhodopi mountains, no clear evidence of Celtic presence has been found. If so, the Celtic domain is probably to be found to the East of the left bank of the lower reaches of the Hebros river.

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[4] In the excavated ca. 275 sq. m a clear layer from the 4th-3rd c. BC was revealed. The Thracian settlement over which the Early Byzantine stronghold was later built is to be related to the remains of an architectural complex from the 5th-3rd c. BC, detected by the small scale excavation of I. Welkow (1937, 120-23, обр. 112/1-2, 7-11, on the Northern slopes of the fortress hill.

[5] Unpublished rescue excavation results from the Sofia University expedition. Some ritual pits, common for Iron Age Thrace, have been recorded. Besides the local pottery and household artifacts, imported pottery from the 5th-3rd c. BC has been uncovered.

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# Ancient Place-Names of the Eastern Balkans: Defining Celtic Areas

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The Balkans, and particularly the Eastern Balkans, is an area notoriously famous for a number of various languages spoken here in pre-history and early historic times. These, although on a different scale, are reflected in the onomastic landscape of the region as it was recorded by ancient and early medieval authors. There are several strata of Indo-European languages which we find in the area. In chronological order the first is the so-called pre-Paleobalkan language(s) (also referred to as "Pre-hellenic" or "Pelasgian"), which is incredibly enigmatic. One may recall, for example, an attempt by G. Mihailov (1986) to consider the place-names of the Eastern Balkans which reflect a Lautverschiebung as Pelasgian, while many other scholars have considered this particular phonetic development as an inherent important trait of Thracian. Academics like V. Georgiev and I. Duridanov used to base their discussions of the Pelasgian place-names in Thracia on quite a different linguistic basis. Aspects of the early substrata of Thracian in the Balkan area were discussed by Yu. V. Otkupschikov in his monograph (Откупщиков 1988) and several articles conveniently collected and published in (Откупщиков 2001). Yet a different view on the problem has been expressed by the late L. Gindin (see e.g., Гиндин 1981), and is advocated nowadays by a group of his former students and colleagues.

The second layer, which is much better reflected in the toponymy of the Eastern Balkans, is represented by Thracian itself. Due to the character of the language interpretation of the data may vary considerably and there are certain questions related to the analysis of the data. Thus, some scholars deny the existence of the (Daco-)Moesian language different from Thracian – a view suggested and advocated by such scholars as V. Georgiev and I. Duridanov, for example, – and these discussions will definitely last, see most recently Янакиева 2009, 17-21. The so-called *adstrata* of Thracian are easier to define. The territories occupied by the speakers of Paleobalkan languages were subjected to incursions from Greek colonies. The Celtic tribes started their expansion into the Balkan peninsula in the beginning of the third century BC, penetrating further south and east. Afterwards most of the areas were controlled by Rome. This gives us traces of Greek (Ἀγχίαλος, Ἀπολλωνία, etc.), Latin (e.g., *Ratiaria* or *Combustica*) and Celtic (cf. *Bononia* or *Noviodunum*) in the toponymy of the area.

The general methodology of extracting Celtic data is known and has been discussed in several publications; see, e.g., the contributions of various scholars to Parson / Sims-Williams 2000 and De Hoz / Luján / Sims-Williams 2005. It considers purely linguistic dimensions, such as phonetic shape of the place-name, morphology and word-formation, semantics and parallels elsewhere in other Celtic languages alongside historical and geographical factors. The basic problem in such a study is the presence of a certain amount of place-names that may be equally both Celtic and non-Celtic, cf. a chapter aptly entitled "The long arm of coincidence" in Sims-Williams 2006, 27-37. This problem is familiar to the scholars of Paleobalkan toponymy, who quite frequently hesitate as to whether a given place-name is, say, Thracian or indeed Latin, and this is reflected in the titles of several articles, cf., e.g., Бешевлиев 1970.

To illustrate, albeit schematically, how this mechanism works, the following example may be revealing. Indo-European *$b^h$ereg$'^h$- "hoch, erhaben" (IEW: 140-41) is well attested in various Indo-European languages (cf. Bulgarian *бряг*), and the onomastics of the eastern Balkans is no exception. As we know, the phonetic form of its continuations in the idioms spoken in this region could be different. Thus, place-names Πέργαμος (Modern Părnardag) and Πέργαμον (located on Aegean coast) go back to this Indo-European root (IE *$b^h$erg$'^h$-*o-mo-m*). A phonetic development of PIE *$b^h$- shown by these place-names cannot be Celtic, or indeed Thracian, and according to the majority of scholars we are dealing here with "Pelasgian" toponyms; see further, e.g., Дуриданов 2000, 40; and for a different approach (although with the same underlying etymology) Гиндин 1993, 22-23. Another place-name found in the region, which goes to the same Indo-European stem, is undeniably Thracian *Bergule* (now Lüle-Burgas) attested in Ptolemy (Βεργούλη, Geogr. III.11.7) and the Antonine Itinerary (*Bergule* IA 137.6; 230.5; 323.2). However, at face value, it looks very similar to a definitely Celtic place-name Βέργουλα found on the other edge of ancient Europe – in Hispania (e.g., Ptol. II.6.60; see García Alonso 2003, 359-60). It may be noted that Celtic place-names in *bergu-* find a perfect etymological match in modern Insular Celtic languages, cf. Welsh *bera* "pile".

It goes without saying that in Hispania we should not look for place-names of Thracian origins. In Thrace, as we know, there are Celtic toponyms. How can we be sure that *Bergule* in Thrace is indeed Thracian? A morphological study of the place-name in question will not lead us anywhere, as the suffix (in) *-l-* is found both in Celtic and Thracian. For the former cf. for example, a possible Gaulish toponym *Tigullia* (modern Sestri Levante in Italy, if it is not in fact Latin) which has been interpreted as "the last [town of the gulf]" and analysed as **tigu-l-yā* (a cognate of Old Irish *tiug-* "last, final") by Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel; see further references in Falileyev et al. 2010, 217. The suffix is well attested in Thracian, as K. Vlahov (1968), has shown, illustrating this point with a number of examples. The crucial trait of the place-name, as far as its linguistic attribution is concerned, is its configuration: -λη does not look Celtic but is fairly well attested in Thracian onomastics, see, e.g., a study of a place-name Καβύλη by the late I. Duridanov (Дуриданов 1993/4).

Before we move to the Celtic onomastic data of the Eastern Balkans, I would like to remind you of two important observations. The first belongs to a father of comparative linguistics, A. Meillet (1967, 57-58), who noted that "the etymologies of proper names are uncertain because of the two pieces of data whose value is established by agreement with the facts of other languages, meaning and phonological form, we can utilize only one: phonological form". The situation is even more difficult in case of *Trümmersprachen*; this was elegantly illustrated by Yu. V. Otkupschikov (Откупщиков 1988, 79) who noted the following paradox: a comparison of a personal name Μακηδόνιος with a place-name Μακηδονία is commonly accepted while identification of *aedónios* "nightingale" and *aedonía* "loss of pleasure" is untenable. Keeping in mind all these and some other difficulties related to the segmentation of the Celtic data from this difficult onomastic landscape (see also Falileyev 2005 and cf. Sims-Williams 2006 for a wider picture), we come finally to the toponymic data of the eastern Balkans which may serve as an aid in the localization of the kingdom of Tylis. Not unlike elsewhere in Eastern Europe (see e.g., Falileyev 2007, x-xi with further references), the place-names here come in groups, frequently accompanied by ethnic names, and generally we do not speak of isolated toponyms. The gigantic problem is that the majority of place-names in Eastern Thrace for which a Celtic origin is possible, is not localized precisely. But as we will see, a rough localization of Celtic and possibly Celtic place-names does coincide with the areas some historians and archaeologists, also at this colloquium, postulate for the Celtic kingdom of Cavarus. Here I will consider definitely Celtic place-names, toponyms which allow a Celtic inter-

Figure 1. Map of Eastern Balkans with some of the place-names mentioned in the text.

pretation and toponyms which are indeed probably not Celtic but which have been considered as such in scholarly literature – in order to exclude them from further discussion. The area in question is the eastern part of Thrace. The region to the north, where archaeological finds associated with the Celts are found and which is sometimes connected with the Celtic kingdom of Cavarus (cf., e.g., Minchev 2007, 34), is neglected in the present study. Although we are aware of a trend popular among some historians and archaeologists, which places the Celtic kingdom in Thrace as far north as Dobrudzha, taking into consideration Celtic place-names of the area, I do not think that this hypothesis is valid any longer. The "Celtic enclave" in Dobrudzha is more likely to be associated (also chronologically) with the group of Celtic toponyms localized on the Dniester, with further possible historical links with North-Western Dacia and probably Olbia, which issued a famous decree about a Galatian menace. For a discussion of these problems and a tentative chronology see Falileyev 2007, 4-20. Therefore, the place-names discussed below come from the central and southern parts of Eastern Thrace and I give these toponyms in an alphabetic order.

I will start with – probably – the most problematic toponym. It is known that a number of Bulgarian scholars (also in this volume) identify a fortified settlement on top of Arkovna mountain in eastern Haemus between the modern villages of Arkovna and Ganchevo in Dalgopol municipality, Varna (ancient Odessus) area, as a Celtic settlement within the borders of Cavarus' kingdom in Thrace. The name *Arkovna*, itself attested quite recently, has been claimed to be Celtic particularly in view of the undeniably Gaulish Ἀρκύνια ὄρη recorded by Aristoteles (Meteor. 1.13), see Лазаров 1996, 94-95. The form quoted from Aristoteles, however, does not lead us anywhere – the

real name of this geographical object is of course *Hercynia* (*silva*) which goes back to **perkunyā* from still earlier **perk*$^{w}$*unyā*; for the details of this reconstruction see Falileyev 2009, 204-05 with further bibliography. On the other hand, its comparison with *Arcuna* (the name of the castellum in modern North-Western Bulgaria recorded only by Procopius as Ἀρκοῦνες Proc. De aed. 121.38, i.e. abl. case, with -ες = *is*, see Beševliev 1970, 43), cf. Лазаров 1996, 94-96, at least at face value is tenable, as its Celticity is unproblematic, cf. already Beševliev 1970, 22; Duridanov 1997, 134-35. This particular place-name from the modern Bulgarian North-West should probably be analysed as a compound. The first part of it may reflect Gaulish **ar-*, *ara-*, *aro-* "moving, rising, raised" (cf. Old Irish *or* "border, limit"), or **are-* "near", "by", ? "to the east of" (cf. Old Irish *air* and (late) Gaulish *are* gl. *ante* in the so-called Endlicher Glossary), for which see Falileyev et al. 2010, 7. The second component may then be the Gaulish word **couno-* "beautiful, noble" (cf. Middle Welsh *cun* "beautiful"), which is possibly reflected in another toponym recorded by Procopius (De aed. 121.21) – Κοῦναι. If the toponym is in fact not completely Celtic, one may suggest seeing here a hybrid formation, "near- *Cuna*(*i*)", "east of *Cuna*(*i*)" vel sim. The model is well attested in Celtic place-name formation, cf., e.g., the Gaulish name of Brittany *Ar*(*e*)*morica* "land (situated) facing the sea". A different word division leaves us with a place-name element **arco-*, which is attested in toponymy, particularly in Hispania (cf. *Arcobriga*; see García Alonso 2003, 329-30), but which is not itself unproblematic; see Falileyev et al. 2010, 54. Although the meaning of the toponym is thus difficult to establish with any degree of precision, this does not affect its probable Celtic linguistic attribution.

At the same time, the place-name from modern North-Western Bulgaria could well be indigenous. We know that certain toponyms in *ark-* are Dacian, as, for example, Ἀρκίννα and Ἀρκοβάδαρα (both in Ptolemy, Geogr. III.8.4; cf. Detschew 1976, 25). Ironically, these Dacian toponyms at the dawn of Celtic historical linguistics have been in turn listed as Celtic by G. Cousin (1906, 359), which is of course a wrong linguistic attribution – it should be reminded that Cousin (1906, 393) lists *Dacia* also as Celtic! A different word division will lead us to a prefix *ar-* which has been already segmented in Thracian onomastics; see Гиндин 1981, 133. Consider also here seemingly similar Greek words noted in Лазаров 1996, 96; and also a number of forms collected in Pape / Benseler 1911, 139. Therefore, although the Celticity of *Arcuna* in modern North-Western Bulgaria is probable (also in view of extra-linguistic factors and certain systematic observations, cf. Falileyev 2006), the possibility of a different linguistic attribution for it cannot be altogether dismissed. A similar-looking modern name *Arkovna* in the Dolgopol region in theory could be linguistically identical with the place-name recorded by Procopius, but here we face a set of problems which cumulatively speak against such an assumption. The first and foremost of them is its late attestation, and I have big doubts that if it were in fact Celtic, it could survive nearly two millennia into our own days. Moreover, it seems to fit a Slavic model of place-name derivation, and therefore we may be on very thin ice in considering it ultimately Celtic.

The place-name *Casibona* is recorded only by Procopius in the genitive plural form Κασιβόνων (De aed. 146.41) where it is placed in the list of castles of Haemimontus province with its capital in Adrianopolis. The toponym has been considered Celtic by several scholars (see, e.g., Beševliev 1970, 133-34 and Duridanov 1997, 139). At face value nothing prevents a Celtic analysis of the apparently compounded place-name. The word *cas*(*s*)*i-* is well attested in Gaulish, and the component *-bona* is found as a second part in Gaulish toponyms, cf., e. g., *Vindobona* and see Falileyev et al. 2010, 14 for the etymology. At the same time, as has been noted already, the linguistic data containing *cas*(*s*)*i-* is not Celtic by default and can belong to other idioms, see Falileyev 2007, 70 for further references and cf. e.g., Pape / Benseler 1911, 631 for other attestations of this (or a similarly looking) component. In theory it may even be a *vox hybrida*, as for example the ancient name of

Belgrade – *Singidunum* which contains both Celtic and indigenous components, and this possibility should not be dismissed, and even then the Celtic attribution of the place-name is undeniable. As the province (Haemimontus) where Procopius places *Casibona* covers the (eastern) Haemus areas it may be in theory associated with the Celtic kingdom of *Tylis*. It is important that *Casibona* may be located – more or less – in the same area where Ptolemy places the definitely Celtic *Orcelis*, for which see below, although the border of the province is placed to the north of ancient Bizye, or may be geographically nearer to Arkovna which has been discussed above. The problem is of course that its exact location within the Haemimontus province in unknown, and it is of note that other place-names recorded by Procopius in this section, as, for example, Ζημάρκου (146.39), are not Celtic.

The toponym *Carpudaemum* is attested only in Ptolemy's Geography (Καρπούδαιμον III.11.7, var. Καρπουδαῖμον) in the list of settlements between *Orcelis* and Βιζύη of which only the latter is localised; its exact location is thus not known. It is believed, however, that it should be placed somewhere (east) in the Balkan mountains or to the east of this area, in south-eastern Thrace. According to A. Strang (s.a., 20-21), if *Carpudaemum* of Ptolemy is not identical with *Tarpodizo* (var. *tariodiz* IA 230.2) and *Tarpudison* (Rav. IV.6), it is possible to analyse the place-name as a later misreading of a Celto-Latin *Caer Pudunum* "fort at / of Pudunum". The sole and probably corrupt attestation of the place-name may in theory allow for such interpretation, cf. also Фалилеев 2006, 103. If this place-name should in fact be located in south-eastern Thrace or in the eastern part of Haemus, it would be tempting, therefore, to analyse it alongside other Celtic toponyms of the areas associated with "the Celtic kingdom in Thrace". It is improbable, however, that the toponym coined in the 3rd c. BC could have a Celto-Latin guise, therefore this particular example should be excluded from our search of Celtic place-names associated with the Celtic kingdom of Cavarus in Thrace.

The place-name *Goloe* (Γολόη) is known from Anna Comn. (I.333.9; 339.18; 350.5, 6; 355.19) and from Suda Lexicon which simply states: Γολόη ὄνομα τόπου. The settlement is tentatively localised to the north of Cabyle (modern Yambol), and therefore could in theory be associated with the territory of the Celtic kingdom of Thrace within the framework which places it around modern Dalgopol area. To my knowledge, W. Tomaschek (1894, 88) was the first to connect the toponym with Γολόη μικρᾶς Γαλατίας CIG II, 9764 and, noting its late attestation, tentatively argued for the Galatian origin of the toponym. This view is accepted by B. Mac Congail (2008, 38) who seems to connect the place-name with the tribe of the Coralli, which he considers Celtic and which is most probably not (see Falileyev 2007, 10-11 with further references). In view of the personal names Γολας (attested in Olbia) and Γολης (attested several times in Thrace) D. Detschew (1976, 107) thinks that the place-name is very likely to be of Thracian origin, and it may be noted in parenthesis that the Thracian origin of the name was questioned by S. Tohtas'ev (Тохтасьев 2007, 173, bibl.), who treats it among the anthroponyms of Asia Minor origin. The configuration of this very late attested place-name does not look Celtic at all and rather reminds us of Thracian *Beroe*; for variations in attestations of the latter see Славова 2007. Of course this comparison cannot be but tentative – we may recall that years ago Yu. V. Otkupschikov stressed the importance of separating the historically heterogenous sequences as in Dubl-*in*, Pušk-*in* and Berl-*in* (Откупщиков 1988, 95) from the actual toponymic formants – the problem is particularly difficult, to say the least, for the "onomastic" languages. In any case, however, the place-name *Goloe* could not be safely considered Celtic, whatever its linguistic attribution might be.

The place-name *Orcelis* is attested only in Ptolemy (Geogr.III.11.7), Ὀρκελίς (var. Ὀρκελλίς) in the list of settlements between a certainly localised Δευελτός κολωνία and putative *Carpudaemum*

discussed above. Although K. Müller suggests seeing here a corruption of Ὀρεστίς, which may stand for the famous Adrianopolis, this is not necessarily so – this suggestion was not accepted in further scholarship. Indeed, Ptolemy does not mention Adrianopolis, but this is not surprising: quite a few valuable settlements in the eastern Balkans are omitted in the "Geography". It is also worthy of note that in the later Ptolemaic cartographic tradition Adrianopolis is confused with Philippopolis, which as was stated (B. Beševliev) was due to the competing political and economic importance of the two settlements. See further Фалилеев 2006, 11314 and 132-33. Historically, the toponym goes back to G. **orco-* "(domestic / young) pig" and / or "salmon" (cf. Old Irish *orc* "id."), itself a descriptive appellative, lit. "speckled". An identical place-name is found in *Hispania Tarraconensis* (see García Alonso 2003, 361), cf. also the *Orcades* in the British Isles (Rivet, Smith 1979, 433-34). Although the Celticity of the place-name is beyond doubt (cf. Detschew 1976, 344 and Duridanov 1997, 139), certain scholars tend to consider it indigenous. Thus, V. N. Toporov (Топоров 1977, 76) takes the place-name *Orcelis* as Thracian and compares it with the Baltic forms in *ark-* (Old Prussian *Arkeliten*, etc.) and in **vork-* (e.g., Old Prussian *Warkiten*). The pitfalls and drawbacks of this methodology are known; see further Фалилеев 2006, 113-14. With the reasonable linguistically Celtic attribution of the place-name in question this approach cannot be considered fruitful.

The place-name is roughly localised in the eastern part of the Balkan mountain (thus e.g., Duridanov 1997, 139), and as it has a definite Gaulish etymology, I have associated it alongside *Valla* (below) with the Celtic kingdom of Cavarus at Tylis in Thrace; see Falileyev 2005b, where the settlement is tentatively located in the Strandzha mountains, between Haemus and Byzantium (modern Constantinople). It may also be added that according to Ptolemy *Orcelis* shares the longitude of 54˚20' with Δευελτός κολωνία which is located near the village of Debelt in the Burgas area of Bulgaria, see Falileyev 2006: 93; and latitude 43˚40' with Salmydessus located in the area of Kırklareli in modern Turkey. This brings us to the area north(-west) of the settlement *Bergule* (modern Lüle-Burgas in Turkey) discussed above. Even taking into account the known difficulties related to the interpretation of grid references in Ptolemy – unfortunately, no research similar to that presented in such a classical piece of analysis of Ptolemaic data as Романовская et al. 1981 (cf. also Зубарев 2005) has been undertaken to localize unlocalised place-names of Ptolemy's Geography – this rough localisation places *Orcelis* nearer to Byzantium, which meets the requirements of looking for the Celtic kingdom of Cavarus in Thrace closer to this city as it has been advocated by certain historians.

*Rimesica* occurs only in TP VII, 3 and is treated there as a tribal name, but is normally considered a place-name. The toponym was analysed by D. Detschew (1976, 397) who was sure that it was derived from a PN **Rimesis*. For W. Tomaschek (1894, 69) the place-name (as well as *Remesiana*) immediately reminds one of the Celtic ethnic name *Remi*; he thought that they may have been historically connected with Celtic *Tyleni*. A Celtic approach is favoured by I. Duridanov (1997, 139), who apparently follows A. Holder (II, col. 1190). The latter indeed lists this place-name in his compendium, and compares it with *Remesiana*. He also notes (*loc. cit.*) several attestations of *rim-* for *rēm-*. If we are indeed dealing here with a compound **Remi-sica* (cf. the personal name *Rimunatus* tentatively analysed by X. Delamarre (2007, 154) as reflecting **Rēmo-nato-*), the second component remains isolated. In this respect it is worth noting that the personal name Σικις (*Sicu* , Σικους) is attested in Thracian and the component *-sicus* is found as a second part of compounds (Detschew 1976, 443). The place-name is roughly localised in the east or central Balkan Mountains.

The most famous toponym, associated with the Celtic kingdom in Thrace is of course Tylis itself. It is recorded as Τύλις by Polybius (IV.46), Stephanus of Byzantium (640.20) and is also found in Suidas's Lexicon (s.v.): Τύλις, ὄνομα πόλεως. Procopius (De. aed. 146.13) has the similar but not identical Τουλεοῦς which is placed between Πίνζος and Ἄρζον and therefore could be – albeit roughly – localised in the area of modern Stara Zagora and Edirne, which is quite far from various other localisation of Tylis (see Falileyev 2005b), but not that very far from a possibly Celtic *Valla* to be discussed below. The place-name has been analysed as indigenous (e.g., Топоров 1977, 111) and even – in case of Τουλεοῦς – as Latin (e.g., Бешевлиев 1955, 301). At the same time a comparison with Irish *tullach* "hillock" (on which see Mac Mathúna 1988, 36 and 38-43), Welsh *tyle* "slope" has already been considered and these words are known in the modern onomastic landscape of Ireland and Wales (cf. here also Mac Congail 2008, 60-62). There is no certainty that the place-name is Celtic, and the identity of the settlement recorded by Procopius with that in the earlier sources may be erroneous.

The place-name *Valla* (Οὔαλλα, var. Οὐάλλα in the XV century ms Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 314) is recorded only by Ptolemy (Geogr. III.11.7) between the problematic and unlocalised settlements Ὄσταφος and Ὀπίσηνα on which see Фалилеев 2006, 114 and 112 correspondingly). I take that it stands for [valla], not for [balla]; see my arguments in Фалилеев 2006, 115-16. W. Tomaschek (1894, 58) compared both place-names with Lat. *Valla* (cf. Бешевлиев 1955, 301), but the suggestion was not accepted by D. Detschew (1976, 41), who refers to Messapic *valla* and Celtic personal names in *-valus*. It seems possible, therefore, to compare this place-name with a well-attested Gaulish *val-*, which is found both in personal names, e.g., *Uallus*, *Uallo*, *Uali* (as well as the second component of compounded names) and as the second component (*-valium*) of toponyms. The component *-valium* frequently occurs in British Celtic toponymy, cf. *Banno-*, *Corio-valium*; note, however, that *Luguvalium* is explained differently, see A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith (1979, 265). The meaning "strong(hold)" is of course suitable for a settlement, although the semantic aspect of this comparison is merely speculative; note that there are also other possibilities for the analysis of Gaulish forms in *val*(*l*)-. The peculiarity of spelling could be explained by Latin influence or the manuscript transmission. In any event, the double *ll* in this form does not contradict the rules of historical phonetics: the place-name may be analyzed as a **-n-*(*H*)- derivative of the zero grade of the root, i.e. **ul-n-H* (cf. Lambert 1990, 213-14, bibl.). It should be noted that the possibility of Latin origin for the place-name (cf. Lat. *vallum*) cannot be completely dismissed. If, however, the ultimate form of the place-name is really *Valla*, and if it is in fact Celtic, it may be analysed as a probable onomastic trace left by the Celtic kingdom in Thrace, see Falileyev 2005b. In respect of its localisation, a further argument may also be considered. According to Ptolemy, the settlement shares the same latitude (43˚45') with Βιζύη which is securely identified with modern *Vize* in Turkey, and the same longitude (52˚40') with the famous Μαρώνεια in modern Greece. This brings us, with all the caveats stemming from the interpretation of Ptolemaic grid (for which see above), to the south of the Pizus / Arzus area, where Procopius localises his *Tylis* (see above). This will notably imply quite a distance from the definitely Celtic *Orcelis*.

To summarize this almost purely linguistic discussion, the following areas of eastern Thrace may be considered, at least potentially – taking into account the character of the sources – to reflect Celtic toponymy and therefore may be associated with the Celtic kingdom of Tylis. The most promising still remains (cf. Falileyev 2005b) the area of south-eastern Thrace where Polybius seems to locate his *Tylis*, and where we probably find Celtic *Orcelis*, with a possibly Celtic *Casibona* lying to the north(-west?) of it. *Carpudaemum*, which geographically may belong to this area, is not Celtic. A putative *Rimisica*, the Celticity of which is not certain at all, may be further associated

with this enclave, if it should not be considered alongside place-names forming a separate group further north. The latter comprises two place-names, (modern) *Arkovna* and *Goloe* which is attested in medieval sources, and as we have seen, the Celtic linguistic association of the latter seems to be out of the question, while the Celticity of the former is highly questionable. And, finally, the third possible enclave may be sought in the area of modern Stara Zagora and Odrin, where Procopius places his *Tylis* and with which Ptolemaic *Valla* (if it is not Latin) could be roughly associated.

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